



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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18 May 1990

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Burundi

President Buyoya Presents National Unity Pact

EA1705104990 Bujumbura Domestic Service
in Kirundi 0802 GMT 16 May 90

[Speech by President Buyoya to mark the presentation of the national unity pact at the Kigobe Congress Palace in Bujumbura—live]

[Excerpts] Your excellencies, members of the Military Committee for National Salvation [MCNS], your excellency the prime minister, honorable ministers in the Burundian Government, honorable heads of the coordination office of the National Unity and Progress Party [UPRONA], your excellencies members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of international organizations in Burundi, honorable members of the commission charged with studying the problem of national unity, ladies and gentlemen, peace be upon us and with the UPRONA party. [applause]

We met in this palace on 13 May last year. You may remember what brought us together. On that day, the commission charged with studying the problem of national unity was submitting its report. Subsequently, we addressed them and expressed our appreciation of the many ideas and timely recommendations the commission had made. Among the main recommendations which could help Burundian nationals in their struggle for national unity, the commission recommended that Burundians should seal a pact of unity, which the present and future generations would always abide by. We accepted the proposal and charged the commission with drafting the pact.

A year has passed since they embarked on the task. Burundians have been debating the issue for the whole year, at the regional, communal, cell, school, military camp and office levels, and many Burundians, from all walks of life have responded positively. They have discussed in detail the problem of their unity and contributed timely ideas which should not be left out of the pact of national unity.

The commission has just officially presented the draft of the pact, a pact which all Burundians and the entire international community were eagerly awaiting. Today is therefore a solemn day, for Burundi has taken a significant step towards achieving unity in the country. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen, we are grateful for the draft unity pact. You may wish to know the benefits of such a pact, its use and what we will gain from it. The pact will be explained to all Burundians so that they can understand it and contribute to it. Subsequently, they will approve it and use it as a foundation for new political organs which will safeguard unity and foster development in our country.

First, all Burundians must know the pact, understand the reasons for it, and the origins of it, in order to adopt it. That is why we are charging the party and the government with preparing the program to (implement it). The pact will be explained at meetings of the party and its integrated organizations, and at office meetings, whether offices of government or private organizations, and at assemblies. The pact must be preached and explained, so that we can accept it once we have understood it in depth.

Educated people will be given the unity pact booklet. They will read it and carry it, explaining it to their children, neighbors, and friends. We request all Burundians to contribute to the pact, once it is explained to them.

The group which drafted the pact consists of 24 people but the pact belongs to all Burundians, for the components of the pact were drafted on the basis of ideas contributed by Burundians themselves. That is why we ask them to support and supplement it, criticizing it where necessary.

If there is any point missing, they should add it. If there is any section which is unclear it should be clarified, and if there is anything ambiguous it should be made plain.

Secondly, after Burundians have fully understood the unity pact and after they have contributed to it, we will invite them to come and approve it through a referendum. [applause] The pact will then be fully theirs. Thus, they will have signed it. Therefore, contraventions of it, undermining it, disputes, exaction, discrimination and assassinations, will become prohibited, like breaking an unbreakable oath.

You may want to know how the pact will be approved. The people will approve the unity pact in two ways. It will be approved first by the party and then by the country as a whole.

At the end of the current year, we will convene an extraordinary Uprona party congress. [applause] The congress will approve the Burundian people's unity pact and the measures for the country's development. The congress will also provide us with the opportunity to enhance brotherhood among citizens and strengthen the unity of Burundians. The congress will give us the opportunity to take another step forward, by setting up new bodies which will run the country until Burundians approve a party Central Committee which will replace the MCNS. [applause] At that congress, we will invite representatives of the party organs in accordance with the provisional regulations. However, we shall also invite other Burundians who love their country, who struggle for our unity and development. Some will represent the organizations they are employed in, whether private or parastatals. Others will be invited on a personal basis, because of their truthfulness and the ideas they can contribute to our struggle for unity and development.

Inviting men and women who are not members of party organs for the extraordinary party congress should not come as a surprise. That is the way we did things when we were studying the problem of national unity, be it within the commission charged with studying the problem, or in meetings at communal and provincial levels, at work or elsewhere. This is understandable, since the struggle for national unity concerns every Burundian. In the two months that will follow the extraordinary party congress, we will invite all mature Burundians to come and vote for the official approval of the Burundi people's pact of unity.

Third, the pact of unity will help us, in that we shall use it to reorganize leadership afresh. In our speech, when we were charging the commission to draft the pact of unity, we promised Burundians that we would use the pact as a basis, a starting point from which we would set up permanent political institutions in the country. That is what we promised Burundians on 13 May 1989. The promises are, therefore, fulfilled.

We cannot break promises we made to Burundians and the international community. [applause] That is why, as soon as the Burundi people have approved the pact of unity, we shall immediately set up a commission charged with preparing the Constitution of the Republic of Burundi. [applause]

We shall appoint a group of wise and intelligent men and women from all the tribes and from all regions, who have their country at heart and who wish Burundi to live long in peace and unity. They will, thereafter, thoroughly study and then propose permanent political organs which are worthy of Burundi, with due consideration to the problems of the country, its concerns, its past and [word indistinct] future. When these are ready we will submit them to the people who will in their turn approve them if they find them satisfactory.

Burundians themselves are, therefore, the ones who will determine their own kind of leadership. At this juncture, no one can tell what the constitutional commission will be, or whether the country is fit for one or several parties. This is what the constitution to be approved by the Burundians will clarify. [passage omitted]

Chad

Opposition Said 'Reorganizing' in Libya

LD1605213590 Paris International Service
in French 1230 GMT 16 May 90

[Text] The Chadian opposition in exile, in Libya particularly, are reorganizing. Dr. Mokhtar Moussa's Democratic Revolutionary Council [CDR] is setting up a Revolutionary Action Front with two other opposition movements—the basic Frolinat [Chadian National Liberation Front] and the Union for the Progress of Chad.

They are moving away from Goukouni Oueddei and moving closer to Idriss Deby, the rebel leader who is the most active on the ground.

Zaire

Mobutu Announces Candidacy for 'Own Succession'

AB1805122590 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 18 May 90 p 23

[Text] "If someone wants to run against me, he will be free to do so, but I doubt he has any chance to get a significant number of votes," declared Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa yesterday. His term ends in December and he intends to run for reelection. Mr. Mobutu, who has been in power since 24 December 1965, also said:

"This evening, I am announcing my candidacy for my own succession. Tomorrow, I will go abroad for two months, the period prescribed for the electoral campaign and during which the people should consider the stakes in peace. I will come back home only at the end of the campaign to cast my ballot."

"As a candidate of the Zairian people as a whole, I do not need to be affiliated with any political party."

On the scene, following one death in Kinshasa last week, two more Zairian students were killed by Civil Guards during a demonstration in Lubumbashi over the weekend. It was also reported that a number were injured.

The march was staged on 13 May and involved tens of thousands of students in Lubumbashi, the country's second college city, and followed a similar demonstration which took place in the Zairian capital last week.

Mobutu Receives Herman Cohen, Holds Talks 16 May

EA1705102690 Mbuji-Mayi Zaire Domestic Service
in French 1630 GMT 16 May 90

[Text] Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko held talks today with Mr. Herman Cohen, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs. It is known that the talks focussed on Angola, but details of the two officials' talks were not revealed to the press.

The U.S. diplomat's visit to Zaire will also include exchanges with the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], Dr. Jonas Savimbi. The latter arrived yesterday in Kinshasa.

Last week, [words indistinct] Mr. Savimbi was happy about the fact that Marshal Mobutu [words indistinct] with the Angolan brothers of UNITA and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict opposing them. Mr.

Herman Cohen, for his part, expressed a wish for the resurgence of the Gbadolite spirit of 22 June 1989.

Mobutu Receives French Message on Hostages Release

AB1605132590 Paris AFP in French 1914 GMT
14 May 90

[Text] Kinshasa, 14 May (AFP)—The Zairian head of state, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, today received a message from French President Francois Mitterrand. The contents of the message were not disclosed, according to reliable sources in Kinshasa. Henri Rethore, the French ambassador to Zaire, who conveyed

the message, told the press that he had expressed to Mushobekwa Kalimba, state commissioner for foreign affairs, the gratitude of the French Government for "the prompt and efficient assistance" provided by Zaire to secure the release of the French and Congolese hostages who had been captured at the border between Congo and the Angolan Cabinda Enclave.

Four Frenchmen and three Congolese, working with the Elf-Congo oil exploration company, were captured on 27 April by the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC) and released in Zaire on 10 May following President Mobutu's mediation.

Ethiopia

EPLF Spokesman: Ethiopian Planes Raid Mitsiwa

JN1705163690 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1535 GMT
17 May 90

[Text] Damascus, 17 May (SANA)—An official spokesman for the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front [EPLF] has declared that Ethiopian planes yesterday carried out brutal raids against the city of Mitsiwa, using internationally prohibited cluster bombs and incendiary napalm, which resulted in material damages and human losses as well.

The spokesman said, in a press statement which was distributed here today, that the EPLF is currently continuing its siege of the capital, Asmara, and is shelling the airport in order to bring its activities to a halt.

The spokesman added: Thus, the countdown for fighting the final battle and ending the imperialist Ethiopian presence in Eritrea has begun.

The Eritrean spokesman called on the world community and the United Nations to condemn the brutal Ethiopian raids against the liberated Eritrean cities, and to support the Eritrean people's right to self-determination.

Radio Reports Air Raid

EA1705202490 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad
Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 17 May 90

[Text] Enemy fighter planes yesterday morning raided the places known as Edaga and Girar in Mitsiwa Port. The fighter planes, which arrived at 0700, dropped four napalm bombs. In this, the seventh air raid, there were no casualties, although there was limited damage to property.

It is to be recalled that the international community has condemned the dergue for its attacks on installations and innocent people in Mitsiwa and has called on it to halt the raids. However, the Dergue regime, ignoring these calls, has continued its destructive activities.

Kenya

Moi Criticizes Advocates of Multiparty System

EA1605173490 Nairobi Domestic Service in English
1300 GMT 16 May 90

[Excerpts] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said that those advocating for multiparty system were not involved in the politics leading to Kenya's independence, and did not know the type of chaos the multiparty system created. President Moi said that the African attitude towards any opposition means direct confrontation, and cited many African countries who had problems because of multiparties since independence.

He said that in 1963 when there were many parties in the country, there were so many incidents of violence because of the same opposition. [sentence as heard]

President Moi was addressing the nation from Bukhundu Stadium in Kakamega District during a rally attended by thousands of wananchi [citizens] from all walks of life.

President Moi said that the same people advocating for a multiparty political system in Kenya were merely agents of foreign masters who understood nothing about the Kenyan society. The president told wananchi that they had a duty to protect their sovereignty and should not allow anybody to dictate to them what they should do.

President Moi said that Kenya had realized great heights of developments since independence which had been enhanced due to the harmony brought about by the ruling party, KANU [Kenya African National Union].

By a show of hands, the leaders and wananchi of Western Province assured President Moi of their unswerving loyalty to him, the government and the ruling party, KANU. They also passed a resolution, rejecting the multiparty political system in the country.

The president said that the destiny of the nation depended on the youth, who, he said, must be guided to adopt what is best for the people of this country. [passage omitted]

Somalia

President Siad Appeals to Rebels, Cites Elections

EA1705104590 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 1715 GMT 16 May 90

[President Siad Barre speech on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Somali Youth League and the 13th anniversary of its revamping, on 15 May in Mogadishu; from the "Radio Panorama" program—recorded]

[Text] In the name of God the most gracious and the most merciful. Good evening. [applause] It is a great pleasure for me to be here on this auspicious occasion in the history of our nation. Indeed it is a splendid night.

The youth of this nation have a long history: in short, it is like when a child is growing up, he is similar to a person climbing a mountain. Climbing a mountain is a tedious task. Sometimes he falls down and sometimes he gets up and begins to walk again. It is a difficult struggle. But eventually he will scale the mountain. He will rest, write down the account of his adventure, and then begin to descend.

What I mean here is that the youth of this nation is the same as that child struggling up the mountain. The truth of the matter is that, in the final analysis, power will rest in their hands irrespective of who built this nation.

The building in which we sit tonight was bought with funds collected from the Somali people. It was bought by the Somali Youth League. Therefore, I think the people who collected the money at that time and bought this building... [changes thought] I don't think there are many of them still alive. Yes, many of them are dead, but here tonight, the ones who are celebrating this glorious occasion, the anniversary of the founding of thbt organization, the first Somali political movement to awaken the Somalis to the realization of their rights, are the youth, who came after the founders had passed on.

It is obvious that others will also take over from them when they get old. What I mean here is that the process of change is a continuous one. It never stops. It is my belief that we will all understand the value of youth in every society in the world. It is a continuous generation.

Therefore, the role of the youth is of great significance. Therefore, we should give the youth the importance they deserve. It is equally important for them to realize the responsibility they shoulder.

Why do people fight? They fight for their rights and dignity. They fight to achieve an objective. Those aims deserve respect. They also have their side-effects, just as everything has its merit and demerit. We have reached where we are tonight through struggle.

I hope our brothers will understand and drop the guns which have brought us untold misery. They should hand over those guns to the nation, which looks after their interests and security. [applause]

You achieve nothing through guns. They kill, but never provide solutions. They are of importance only at one time, and that is when the weapon is in the hands of the government, in the hands of the security forces who have been entrusted with the responsibility of carrying them with a view to safeguarding lives, property, and the national interest. [applause]

I would like to touch on other issues. As you have all heard in due course, a constitutional reform that will allow the formation of many parties is to be introduced. The parties will have the right to fight for the right to govern the country. The victors will lead the country; if they fail, others will take over from them.

There are those who are saying that this is just a trick to hoodwink public opinion. I am saying that they, our adversaries, are telling lies. We don't, and we don't want to tell lies. We will not set up conditions of intimidation that will keep them away from taking part in the elections; they will be free and fair elections. The party that wins the majority of seats will form a government.

When the constitution is reformed, it will be presented before the people's assembly. This town is full of lies and rumors, and they stink. Keep away from them. Stay in peace. [applause]

Let us tell them that you Somali people understand where your interest is. Let us be serious, let us be nationalistic, and let us be hardworking. All Somali youth, wherever they may be—I greet them wholeheartedly. I congratulate them on the good work they have done, and I hope they will do even better in the future. Victory! [applause]

Minister To Visit U.S., UK for Oil Talks

*EA1605180590 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 1850 GMT 15 May 90*

[Excerpts] The Somali Democratic Republic minister for water and mineral resources, Comrade Abdirazak Ali Elmi, and his delegation left here today for a working visit to the United States, Britain, and Italy. Briefing the press in the VIP lounge at the airport in Mogadishu, he said his visit was in line with the development of the ministry's work, and particularly, matters concerning oil prospecting. He said his visit would start in London, Britain, where he will hold talks with the oil prospecting companies Conoco, and [name indistinct]. Comrade Abdirazak Ali Elmi also said his visit would take him to the United States, where he will hold talks with officials of those companies at their headquarters in Houston, Texas. He said talks with the officials of those companies would focus on the oil prospecting which these companies were carrying out in Somalia.

Referring to his visit to Italy, the minister of water and mineral resources said that in Milan he was due to hold talks with officials of the Agip Oil Company to consolidate the earlier talks between his ministry and Agip, concerning mineral exploration. [passage omitted]

Minister Malan on Mozambique Airspace Violations*MB1705182690 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 1800 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Defense Minister General Magnus Malan has revealed three violations of South African airspace yesterday by the Mozambican Air Force.

Replying to the debate on his budget vote in Parliament, he said that South Africa's trade representative in Maputo had raised the issue with the Mozambican Government.

The incident occurred when two helicopters and two MiG-21 aircraft fired rockets at a settlement inside Mozambique and three of the missiles fell inside South Africa. No one was injured in the incidents.

Gen. Malan said the SADF [South African Defense Force] was having to pay attention to the overflow of conflicts from neighboring countries.

The minister also reiterated that there was no place for members of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], the ANC's [African National Congress] military wing, in the SADF.

A professional defense force, he said, could only be maintained with highly trained personnel. Gen. Malan said the SADF was not there to alleviate the country's unemployment situation. He said he doubted whether Umkhonto we Sizwe members would be at home in the type of defense force which was envisaged.

Discusses Regional Changes*MB1705192590 Johannesburg SABA in English
1645 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Parliament May 17 SABA—Freedom in today's world did not lie in the red flag, but in the development of people and countries, the minister of defence, General Magnus Malan, said on Thursday [17 May].

Replying to debate on the defence vote, Gen Malan said the whole perspective on regional conflict in southern Africa had changed.

"The conflicts which have been prominent, like those between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] or between Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] and Fretilim [Mozambique Liberation Front], could lose their importance in the new thinking."

No one could say with any certainty what was lying in wait for Africa. The ingredients for lasting peace were, however, neither visible nor available.

"The realities of Africa like hunger, illiteracy, sickness and poverty do not combine to make a recipe for peace, rather one for unrest and conflict. This type of unrest can easily change to revolution and armed violence."

The Africa of the 1990's could be a sub-continent with many military and semi-military conflicts which could spill across borders, as could refugees and the hungry.

"The potential for unrest is to be seen everywhere. The ideal of cooperation and economic development remains good, but the realities of collapse must form part of our planning."

Conflict was taking on new guises and retrogression and suffering stemmed from these new causes of misery.

The SADF [South African Defense Force] and Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] were re-evaluating themselves.

"For both, this is a time of keeping a low profile. This, however, does not mean a weak profile as, for both, it still means armed preparedness.

"The defence family has one all-covering security mission and that is to continuously ensure the security interests of the country.

"National security, political stability, the development of government system and the protection of all its people is of primary interest to South Africa."

Notes Military Presence in Natal*MB1705215690 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1545 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Defense Minister General Magnus Malan says the Defense Force does not want to get involved in forming factions because this has the potential to alienate a section of the population.

During the debate on his budget in Parliament, Malan expressed the hope that the situation in Natal will stabilize as soon as possible so that the Defense Force can be withdrawn. He emphasized that the Defense Force would act to maintain law and order.

Madagascar Plans To Resume Trade Ties, Air Links*MB1705125990 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar says his country has decided to resume trade and air links with South Africa because it is evident that there has been progress in reform in this country.

In an interview with Radio France International, President Ratsiraka said that he had fought for change in South Africa for many years and that he was now saluting the beginnings of this change.

The Malagasy leader said that change in South Africa had to be encouraged and that President de Klerk had to be supported in carrying out reforms. He said that he

could not stand aside from the process taking place in South Africa as it affected Madagascar because of its proximity to South Africa.

Vlok: Welkom Mine Intimidators To Be Punished

*MB1705102390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0938 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Cape Town May 17 SAPA—A special investigation team had been working constantly since Wednesday [16 May] night in an effort to arrest those responsible for the violence which left two people dead in Welkom.

The minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, said on Thursday the team under Brigadier K. Geldenhuys would search for, find and bring to court, the guilty people as soon as possible.

The police would also act summarily against people who engaged in intimidation which was reported to be taking place on a large scale.

They would be arrested and detained in terms of the emergency regulations and brought before the courts, if at all possible.

It was in the interests of everyone that the disturbing state of affairs in Welkom and the Goldfields was returned to normal as soon as possible.

To bring this about further police reinforcements, supported by the SADF [South African Defense Force], would be deployed in the area. In this way a visible presence, offering protection to all residents, would be maintained.

Mr Vlok appealed to all those involved or affected by the violence not to take the law into their own hands and to remain calm.

"Irresponsible action will only make the work of the police more difficult and will aggravate the situation."

He was in personal contact with everyone who could relieve the tension in the area and was convinced that with fair, firm and calm action, the situation could return to normal.

He appealed to all the residents of Welkom, Thabong and the whole Goldfields area to support the police and not to hinder them in their duties.

PAC Issues 'Warning' to Government

*MB1705184990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1615 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Harare May 17 SAPA—The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] has issued a strong warning to the South African Government and their white vigilante groups of a black backlash following clashes between workers and mine security in Welkom on Wednesday [16 May].

Zimbabwe's news agency ZIANA reported that PAC, in a statement issued from the organisation's external headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, said: The white vigilante groups and right-wingers that have mobilised themselves for action against the African people in Welkom, especially in the mines, should realise the capacity and the will to defend the Azanian people.

It said the only solution was respect for the right of the black people to independence and self-determination.

The organisation accused President F.W. de Klerk, Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader Eugene Terreblanche for the blood that has been spilled in Welkom and elsewhere.

You will be held responsible for any blood that will be spilled in any corner of Azania in future.

Police Reinforcements Arrive 17 May

*MB1805063090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0600 GMT 18 May 90*

[By Jonathan Rees]

[Excerpt] Welkom May 18 SAPA—Police reinforcements arrived in Welkom on Thursday [17 May] afternoon following Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's announcement that the SAP [South African Police] and SA Defence Force would bolster forces already hard-pressed to keep the peace in this Orange Free State mining town.

With a racial clash having left two white men dead on Anglo American's President Steyn gold mine on Wednesday, angry right-wingers have vowed revenge. Reports indicate gun sales have rocketed amongst white residents.

And heavily armed AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and Blanke Veiligheids Beweging [White Security Movement] members met behind closed doors in a hall on Welkom's outskirts on Thursday night—apparently to discuss their response to the crippling black consumer boycott of white shops, which after 10 days threatens many businesses with closure.

Number 1 shaft at the President Steyn mine closed on Thursday after the violence on Wednesday, which left 18 injured.

Anglo American Gold and Uranium Division MD [managing director] Lionel Hewitt said all personnel working on the shaft had been sent home on full pay and would be asked for an undertaking to refrain from violence before the shaft opened again. Mine management would meet with all parties concerned to resolve the "volatile situation," he said. [passage omitted]

UDF Official Criticizes Shooting by Police*MB1705184190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1503 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Johannesburg May 17 SAPA—The killing of two young men in Kroonstad earlier this week added yet another chapter in the "indictment of brutality" against members of the SA Police, a UDF [United Democratic Front] spokesman said on Thursday [17 May].

The assistant publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in a statement his organisation expected the minister responsible for police to once again say police had no option but to shoot.

"To shoot perhaps, but to kill a person is something which any civilised policing would consider a last resort. But such was not the case here.

"It is all very well for the government to talk negotiation, yet through its armed apparatus (it) continues to maim and kill people. Like the Trojan-Horse saga in Cape Town, the police in Kroonstad seem to have gone into the township with no other aim but to shoot to kill."

Mr Morobe said the UDF condemned this action in the strongest possible terms and called on the minister in charge to act speedily to apprehend the culprits.

He added: "It should be accepted, of course, that the people of Maokeng will be perfectly within their right to find appropriate ways to voice their abhorrence of this cold-bloodedness which has come to typify the security forces, and particularly the police force."

SADF Said Pressuring Lusaka Meeting Delegates*MB1705140490 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 17 May 90 p 1*

[By Alan Fine]

[Text] The SADF [South African Defense Force] was putting pressure on citizen force officers not to attend a planned meeting in Lusaka next week with ANC [African National Congress] military personnel, IDASA [Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa] western Cape regional director Nic Borain said yesterday.

The SADF had previously turned down an invitation to send delegates to the conference, whose objectives includes allowing "the contending forces to explore ways to de-escalate the conflict."

The meeting will also discuss the shape and role of a future defence force.

An SADF spokesman said last night he was unaware of any "so-called" pressure.

Borain said among the 49 delegates from SA were prominent and influential people in SADF circles. He was confident they would not withdraw from the May 23 to 27 meeting because of the alleged pressure.

The delegates included citizen force officers and troops with "recent and proud service" in the SADF, and in Angola.

Prominent former officers who had since become involved in politics included DP [Democratic Party] MP and former SA Air Force Chief Bob Rogers, and the most senior woman in the SADF, Hilda Burnett.

The delegation also included senior officers in the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda military and a number of academics.

Borain said IDASA had made a serious but unsuccessful effort to encourage the CP [Conservative Party] to send representatives.

The ANC was to send a 45 member delegation, which would include much of the Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, ANC military wing] high command, including Chief of Staff Chris Hani. Executive members Thabo Mbeki and Joe Slovo were to join the meeting only from the second day because of the ANC meeting with up to 600 top businessmen on May 23 in Johannesburg.

Buthelezi Refuses To Accede to ANC Demands*MB1705152790 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1100 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] have officially announced their demand that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi be stripped of his powers as minister of police. They also want the KwaZulu Police [KZP] force to be disbanded. These demands have been outlined at a news conference in Durban. Carmel Rickard was there:

[Begin Rickard recording] The ANC's regional convener, Terror Lekota, also revealed that the ANC side of the joint working committee set up between his organization and the government was in Durban today. They are to be given a full briefing on the situation in Natal and on the demands relating to how the violence should be ended, including the demands over the disbanding of the KZP. The ANC side of the joint working committee will then take these demands back to the government team and it will form part of the report for State President F.W. de Klerk, who will receive it when he returns from Europe. [end recording]

But Chief Minister Buthelezi says there is no way he can be stripped of his powers. This report from Peter auf der Heyde:

[Begin Auf der Heyde recording] Buthelezi, who is also the KwaZulu minister of police, said it is a known strategy of the UDF [United Democratic Front]/COSATU alliance to make the country ungovernable. He blamed COSATU for having triggered off the violence in the Pietermaritzburg area and said that the ball was now in their court concerning peace initiatives. He

said there was no way President de Klerk could rescind his powers as minister of police because the KwaZulu Police force had been established by law. [end recording]

Criticizes ANC, COSATU

*MB1705224690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2042 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Ulundi May 17 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] and its affiliates have launched a concerted campaign to destabilise the KwaZulu Government, Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed on Thursday [17 May].

The chief minister said he was responding to requests by the press for his comment as KwaZulu minister of police on the violence in Natal and certain statements made by the ANC, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and students of the University of Natal. He did not elaborate.

Mr Buthelezi's statement, issued to SAPA, was a heated attack on the ANC and the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

He accused the organisations of "exacerbating tensions in the region".

"What they are doing is playing party-political games with people's lives and I will have no part of it. I will not get involved in puerile public slanging matches with the ANC and COSATU."

He further accused the organisations of making untruthful inflammatory statements and said the cessation of the violence was clearly not their highest priority.

However, Mr Buthelezi said he was prepared to hold frank talks with the groups at any time.

"My door is open to them and their leadership to sit and talk with me...I see absolutely no reason why we cannot sit together and talk together and ultimately work together in creating a new SA in which we can live together in harmony."

Mr Buthelezi said the ANC and COSATU stated "they have problems with me...I have problems with them too. The forum they have chosen will not enable us to do what is crucially required: help suffering people."

He said he was alarmed at calls for further work stoppages, which had caused bloodshed and loss of property in the past.

Mr Buthelezi further accused the ANC, COSATU and United Democratic Front of using violent and intimidatory politics, resulting in a continuation of poverty and despair.

"The recent hideous violence we saw in Pietermaritzburg was caused by exactly this kind of intimidatory politics", he claimed.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government would not be defeated by such undemocratic political action, Mr Buthelezi said.

'Prominent' Inkatha 'Warlord' Killed 16 May

*MB1705113790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1032 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Durban May 17 SAPA—A prominent Inkatha member, Jerome Mncwabe, was gunned down and killed as he was about to enter his home in the war-torn Imbale township outside Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday [16 May] night, police reported on Thursday.

Police spokesman Lt. Henry Budhram in Pietermaritzburg said Mr. Mncwabe, 40, was about to enter his home through the kitchen door when shots were fired at him from an open field adjacent to a neighbour's house.

Mr. Mncwabe was wounded in the back and shoulder, and died soon after being admitted to Greys Hospital in Pietermaritzburg, Lt. Budhram said.

According to local sources, Mr Mncwabe had allegedly established a reputation as an "Inkatha warlord" in the townships surrounding Pietermaritzburg.

Witnesses told police they observed two men flee from the scene shortly after the shooting.

A later report on Thursday disclosed that a black taxi driver, Mr. Mhaweni Ngcobo, was shot dead by assailants in Mhlankosi Road, Imbali, on Thursday morning.

Confirming this, Lt. Budhram said the position in Imbali was tense.

A number of houses were burning, according to a reliable source, but Lt Budhram could not confirm this.

But he did say that "police are there in Imbali".

Government Promulgates Indemnity Act Amendment

*MB1805093490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0854 GMT 18 May 90*

[Text] Pretoria May 18 SAPA—The Amended Indemnity Act, which will allow many exiled South Africans to return to South Africa without fear of prosecution, was promulgated on Friday, according to a Government Gazette released in Pretoria.

Ban on Importing ANC Publications Lifted

*MB1805094090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0839 GMT 18 May 90*

[Excerpt] Cape Town May 18 SAPA—The prohibition on importing all publications published by the African National Congress [ANC], London, has been lifted from Friday, the Directorate of Publications has announced. [passage omitted]

Government Changes Deputy Minister Portfolios

*MB1805191290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0827 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Cape Town May 17 SAPA—Two deputy ministers had their portfolios changed on Wednesday [16 May].

The joint deputy ministers of planning and provincial affairs, Mr Andre Fourie and Dr J.T. Delpont, have been split with Mr Fourie concentrating on the planning portfolio, and Dr Delpont on the provincial affairs portfolio, a statement from the state president's office announced on Thursday.

Bill Proposes Reserve Bank's Serving Namibia

*MB1705130990 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] A bill has been tabled in Parliament providing for the South African Reserve Bank to continue to function as a central bank for Namibia and to supervise banking institutions in that country.

Without approval of the bill, the Reserve Bank can function only in South Africa. The bank will continue to execute these duties for Namibia until that country establishes its own central bank.

Chamber of Business Pledges To Honor Human Rights

*MB1705140390 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 17 May 90 pp 1, 2*

[Text] The SA [South African] Chamber of Business [SACOB] has pledged itself to the concepts of human rights, cultural rights, minority rights, peaceful solutions to SA's problems, a market economy, private property and a negotiated new constitution.

These are among the principles embodied in its Charter of Economic, Social and Political Rights outlined last night by Director-General Raymond Parsons at a media conference to mark the official launch of the chamber.

Parsons said many businessmen involved in labour negotiations, consumer boycotts and the "broader debate" on current socio-political questions had requested guidance as to where SACOB stood on certain basic issues.

"(The charter) provides a valuable framework and a point of departure for the formulation of more specific policies and strategies," he said.

"We believe it is an essential restatement of principles at a time when the pace of change in SA has quickened...and when there is a danger that sight may be lost of certain fundamental values which may businessmen would like to uphold or see upheld."

Parsons said the charter committed SACOB—formed in January through the merger of ASSOCOM [Association

of Chambers of Commerce] and the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI)—to urging all members of commerce, industry and business to adhere to its principles.

However, the charter was just one of three inter-related steps SACOB was taking to address the questions businessmen were asking, he said.

Other measures included a position paper on the issues surrounding inequality of wealth in SA—to be released within a few months—and an examination of the economic aspects of any new constitution.

SACOB president Leslie Boyd said its task was to promote policies aimed at optimal wealth creation in SA, and which promoted a sound economy.

"This path, SACOB believes, is the only sure way to secure employment, rising living standards, improved social standards and, above all, a free society."

In a message of support for SACOB, acting State President and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the merger of ASSOCOM and FCI "...should enable the new chamber and the business community to act more effectively in meeting the challenges of a changing SA."

Issues 'Dramatic Document'

*MB1705140590 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
17 May 90 p 21*

[Text] The new South African Chamber of Business [SACOB] yesterday moved into the central arena of the debate about the shaping of a new country.

It released in Johannesburg a dramatic document that could go down as a land-mark in progress towards a new constitution.

The document spelt out a Charter of Rights on political and social and economic issues.

Since the charter claims to reflect the views of the business world, its influence in the dialogue between white and black leaders is bound to be considerable.

SACOB, formed out of the merger of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry [ASSOCOM] and the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), has sound footing in laying claim to be the biggest voice of business in South Africa.

And the voice is likely to increase in volume in the political debate as copies of its charter are circulated to about 33,000 companies.

Insiders see the charter as the most important declaration yet made by business leaders on the stance of the private sector on the process of reform.

Observers believe the charter will provide key new guidelines in the preparation of any new Bill of Rights

that emerges out of negotiations on how South Africa sets a course away from apartheid and towards new socio-political programmes.

SACOB lays stress from the outset that a main ambition is the promotion of human rights and the freedom of all races.

Its first declaration covers the aspect of economic rights and principles.

The charter insists that everyone should be entitled to equal work opportunities and freedom in the choice of employment, with equal pay for equal work.

A section deals with social and cultural rights and principles.

One insists that everyone must have the right to equal educational opportunities—but the State backs the rights of parents to protect their own religious and philosophical convictions.

The charter adds more fuel to the current debate when it turns to civil and political rights and principles.

Among the main items are:

- No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile, and everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal.
- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence.
- Everyone has the freedom to leave the country and, if having the right of permanent residence, to return.
- Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence, shall be prohibited by law.
- The form of any new constitution shall be the subject of negotiation between interested parties, and it is essential that any future political system in South Africa provides the necessary checks and balances; safeguard of basic human rights; and protection for minorities against domination.
- The State shall not be above the law, but shall, through decentralisation and devolution of State powers, be close to the people and responsive to their needs.
- Businesses endorse the view that economic freedom and the private enterprise ethic should be entrenched in an appropriate future political system.
- The institutions of democratic government, and in particular the separation of State powers, independence of the judiciary, supremacy of the law, freedom of the press, and free formation of political parties shall be the foundations of South African statehood.

* National Party-Black Alliance Theory Examined

34000632C Johannesburg THE STAR in English
26 Apr 90 p 20

[Article by Graham Linscott: "Theories of Alliances May Be a Little Glib"]

[Text] An alliance between the Nats [National Party] and Inkatha? Just a year ago such a thing would have been as unthinkable as the unification of East and West Germany or a McDonald's hamburger joint in Moscow.

But are people not perhaps being just a little glib and superficial about such an alliance? What is meant by it anyway?

A popular bar-room theory holds that the Afrikaners and the Zulus, the largest ethnic groups in white and black South Africa respectively, will reach an historic compromise. They will share power and rule the country between them.

Fine. Except that (assuming every Afrikaner supports the Nats and every Zulu supports Inkatha, which is untrue of either) Afrikaners plus Zulus do not amount to a majority within greater South Africa.

Even if the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states are excluded it is doubtful. Huge and densely populated regions such as the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand would not be properly represented in the alliance. Nor would the powerful trade union movement.

Rule by such an alliance would be a recipe for polarisation and a paralysis of industry.

The bar-room theory needs some rethinking. It seems unlikely that Inkatha would want a straight alliance with the Nats anyway. Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general, has already cried "Whoa" to the speculation.

Surely the last thing Inkatha needs to be branded with is Muzorewa politics?

And surely, if the Nats believe Inkatha has a contribution to make, the last thing they need is a Muzorewa-ist ally who would shed huge support to the ANC [African National Congress]?

A broad consensus or grand alliance containing the Democrats and other groupings would be a different matter.

But could it be that our bar-room theorists are actually in the wrong thought mode altogether? That they are thinking Westminster (simple majority, winner takes all) when in fact we have moved on from that?

President de Klerk has been using a lot of Indaba-speak lately: power-sharing, equally weighted votes, the possibility of two chambers—one majoritarian, the other representing groups. This is straight from the proposals of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

And if Indaba thinking is in vogue, that would imply a drawing in of the ANC as well. Power-sharing would be incomplete without it.

Nobody should bluff himself that the ANC would easily accept such a power-sharing model. At the moment it is busy gathering to itself as much support as it can, in the

homelands and elsewhere. It seeks power as representative of the overwhelming majority.

But the emergence of a strong moderate alliance—including the Nats, Inkatha, the DP [Democratic Party] and others—could create uncertainties. In time—and possibly quite a long time—power sharing just might become more attractive.

Which brings us to bar-room theory No 2, usually expounded over martinis in the more upmarket establishments and in the accents of foreign correspondents.

This holds that far from doing a deal with Inkatha, the Nats will do a deal with the ANC because this would create stability over most of South Africa, leaving Inkatha-dominated kwaZulu just a troublesome region—a containable Savimbi factor.

I hae me doots. And are we not weary of theories? [as published]

Perhaps the most instructive thing about these two is that they show how, in spite of our unitary political structure, South Africa still is a country of distinct regions that have been tacked together.

How much more appropriate federation would have been in 1910.

* Benny Alexander Discusses Pan Africanism

90AF0030A Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans 16 Mar 90 p 12

[Interview with Pan-Africanist Congress Official Benny Alexander by Audrey Brown: "Africanism: For Those With Africa in Their blood;" first paragraph is VRYE WEEKBLAD introduction; items in slantlines accented]

[Text] According to Benny Alexander, the secretary-general of the interim executive committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC], which was established in the country on 10 March this year, that organization rejects the standpoints of Nelson Mandela and is preparing itself for a very long struggle. Audrey Brown had a talk with him.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] Why was it necessary to first create the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) and then to dissolve it afterward?

[Alexander] PAM was born at a very important historical moment. It was established when the PAC was still illegal and we wanted to use PAM to create the infrastructure for the PAC. Remember, the government already gave indications last year that it wanted to legalize the organizations. One cannot start working /after/ an organization is legalized; one has to start before that time.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] How large is the PAC?

[Alexander] About last Saturday we already had 49 established branches, with about 100 branches represented as observers at the meeting.

In the country, people are joining political organizations as if they were clubs for soccer fans, but outside of that there is a shapeless mass, and they are listening to our appeals. There is also a party cadre, and we are trying to transform that shapeless mass into a cadre.

At this moment we have a registered membership of about 400,000 people. The majority of our members are from Transkei, Ciskei, and other regional areas, as well as from West Cape. But our "soccer fans" certainly run into millions.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] What are the differences and similarities between the PAC and the black consciousness organization (BCMA [Black Consciousness Movement of Africa]), AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] and the Unity Movement?

[Alexander] We see those groups as the leftists in the country, but there is one thing we have in common and that is the tradition of noncooperation, the tradition which refers to the socializing of the means of production.

At this moment we do not want to explain differences because there is a need for cooperation. Steps have already been made to form an alliance with the leftists.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] How do you differ from the ANC [African National Congress]?

[Alexander] In their constitutional guidelines they refer to a mixed economy and to an added tax on companies to address inequalities. That differs from our standpoint. We will undoubtedly confiscate property of the monopoly capitalists and utilize it for the benefit of the rest of society.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] Doesn't that mean nationalization?

[Alexander] Yes, it is. But nationalization can be utilized by both capitalists and socialists. We are very careful to point out that we are using that concept in a socialist context.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] What is the standpoint of your organization on negotiations?

[Alexander] We have three points on which the government will have to yield. The first one is one person, one vote in a united country without any "checks" and "balances" for minority groups in the form of veto rights. Secondly, the redistribution of resources is extremely important—the ownership of 87 percent of the country's wealth by whites is obviously wrong. The third question is about who represents whom, and in our view that can only be decided by a legislative assembly.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] Do you think that position will succeed? Especially considering that negotiations are already being discussed without any of those steps having been taken?

[Alexander] We will not succeed in the short term. Therefore, we are preparing ourselves for a long, protracted struggle. Majority government means the liquidation of white political power. We cannot see the government simply signing away everything. They will never agree to the redistribution of the country. It would mean a decrease of white economic power. It is naive to expect that Oppenheimer will sit and watch his gold mines disappear. Therefore, we certainly do not expect a short struggle.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] How do you feel about the fact that the process of negotiations is already taking place now?

[Alexander] We will only participate in meaningful negotiation, and for us negotiation can only take place if the three conditions already mentioned are met. For us there is no difference between a climate, prior requirements, and an agenda. Those three demands /are/ climate, prior requirements, /and/ an agenda.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] Then does that mean that you are not part of the movement toward negotiation in which the ANC and the government are now involved?

[Alexander] The government has merely fiddled around with degrees of oppression and not with the infrastructure of the evil system's building. We cannot negotiate degrees of oppression. Township troops have to do with degrees of oppression, and the same applies to the return of exiles.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] The National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) changed their definition of "African" a while ago. Do you agree with that?

[Alexander] We differ slightly with NACTU's definition of an African. Our definition of an African in the first place comprises people who are native. They are the people referred to by the enemy as coloreds, /and/ the other tribes. Those people are the true Africans.

Then there are the nonnative people who pledge their only loyalty to Africa, its people and its development, and who also accept democratic standards. Together they form the Africans, and together they can build the African nation.

When a person is an African in Africa, then you are part of the majority. You cannot say you are an African and /then/ say you do not belong to the majority—then you are calling yourself a minority group. That means you are not an African. Thus we look at people's actions—regardless of /what/ they call themselves. They don't consider themselves as part of us. Therefore, we say that we are not a nation.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] How do you address the question of white and black?

As far as we are concerned these are racist concepts, and it removes us from the concept of nationhood after that of race. If one speaks of white and black and brown, one speaks of race. But if you speak of African or European or American, you speak of nations. We believe there is only one race, and that is the human race. There is no difference between us and De Klerk. We are all part of the human race.

No one is over- or underdeveloped. And because we are all part of the same human race, one group cannot dominate another. Differences in appearance originate as a result of certain conditions, especially geographic isolation over long periods of times—it is not a political phenomenon.

We are only speaking of oppressors, Europeans and Africans—nothing else.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] Your standpoint is very provoking toward the whites. Do you agree with that standpoint?

[Alexander] I don't know why you speak of whites and not of the system. If you had said the system, I would have agreed. When you say whites, it looks as if we attack whites regardless of the standpoints part of them hold, and I don't agree with that.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] Do whites belong to your organization?

We don't allow people to join on the basis of color. Our organization is open to membership as we have already defined. Whoever thinks he meets our requirements can join us.

In any event, one cannot determine whether there are white members because we do not have a provision for race.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] I am trying to determine whether your organization has a broad membership base and has not just recruited members from the oppressed groups.

[Alexander] I think that many people have a distorted idea of the PAC, and that distorted image makes it very difficult for certain people to join us. They will run away when they see our organization come around the corner. There are also people who are privileged and who feel threatened by the PAC. We don't expect them to join us, especially if our explicit goal is to end those privileges.

What are the prospects of the PAC and the ANC fusing together?

[Alexander] People in the West talk a lot about unity between those two. On the one hand they say that we must not create a one party state, and on the other hand they say we must form an organization. Various organizations, with various manifestos, is not only the privilege

of the white community. I consider it an insult that whites expect that all of us should have the same ideas and programs. We have no problem with the separate existence of those two organizations.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] What is your view of Nelson Mandela - is he a symbol of struggle for everyone, or does he belong to the ANC?

[Alexander] We have great respect for his capacity to suffer for the struggle for freedom. But we do not at all agree with many of his standpoints. He is appealing whites, and that is out of the question for us. He says he has been fighting his entire life against black domination—what black leader have we ever fought against? There has never been any black domination. You cannot present self-determination, which is the right of nations, in the vulgar cloak of black domination.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] Your standpoints on self-determination are very reminiscent of those of the far-rightists.

[Alexander] No. The equivalent of their standpoint would be if Africans were to go to Germany and there demand the right to self-determination. If they expect the German parliament to give them veto powers over all the Germans, that is indeed wrong. In Africa there is only one form of self-determination and that is Africa-self-determination. A person joins and becomes part of an Africa-nation.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] How do you feel about white rightists?

We must act very sternly towards them. Even white liberals agree that racism must not be permitted in a future society. It must be eliminated and suppressed.

If they want self-determination, then they must return to the countries where whites do that. They must not want to do that here,

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] How does the PAC see a future constitution of South Africa?

[Alexander] It will be Africa-nationalist. For example, education will not have a western hue, because we are Africans. Secondly it will be Pan-Africanist. We will not use our economic power against smaller Africa-nations to take advantage of them. It will also be strongly socialist. Human rights, individual rights, will be very clearly endorsed.

We will not participate in the intrigues of world powers either.

[VRYE WEEKBLAD] Does your organization have any message for Afrikaners?

[Alexander] The two powers which compete for power in the country is Africa-nationalism on the one hand and Afrikanerhood on the other. Africa-nationalism is a

progressive thesis in the struggle for freedom, and Afrikanerhood is a reactionary antithesis. Those two can only find themselves in a synthesis of Africanism, and it is in that synthesis where one truly becomes a human being, an Africa-human being. Then you truly have Africa in your blood and your bones. And if that happens, then the fact that Africa's elephants are becoming extinct will touch something deep within you, and you will want to contribute your part toward the improvement of the community.

* Right-Wing Groups Gear Up for 'Armed Struggle'

* Alliances Formed

34000634 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
22 Apr 90 pp 1-2

[Article by De Wet Potgieter]

[Text] With a clenched-fist salute, the most wanted man in South Africa marches alongside right-wing leaders Eugene Terre Blanche and Robert van Tonder.

White fanatic Piet "Skiet" Rudolph was marching at the head of the right-wing rally in Pretoria's Church Square in February.

Now he is in hiding with a huge arsenal of modern weapons—and police fear he could strike at any moment.

His arsenal was stolen last week in a raid on SAAF [South African Air Force] headquarters in Pretoria.

As the manhunt for Rudolph continued, police yesterday announced that two more men have been arrested in connection with the arms theft—a policeman and a 46-year-old civilian.

They will appear in the Pretoria Regional Court tomorrow. Three national servicemen have already appeared in court.

Armoury

And a top police officer indicated this week that the search for Rudolph could be hampered by a "Fifth Column" of right-wing sympathisers within the SA Police and security forces.

"We no longer know who is friend or foe," said the officer.

Those close to Rudolph, an ex-cop turned right-wing activist, warned this weekend: "Get Piet Skiet before he gets to the ANC [African National Congress]—or get ready for mayhem.

"He'll stop at nothing if he believes he's right," said a former SAP [South African Police] colleague.

Rudolph, deputy leader of Mr Robert van Tonder's ultra-rightwing Boerestaat Party, has cast himself in the role of a modern-day Robey Leibbrandt, war-time Nazi sympathiser and saboteur.

He has never made a secret of his conviction that the Afrikaner's future will be secured only through the barrel of a gun.

Police fear that the weapons stolen from the SAAF armoury are even now being distributed among members of an underground movement based on the Ossewa Brandwag [OB] that aided with the Nazis during World War II.

This week high-placed security sources told the SUNDAY TIMES: "The right wing is gearing itself for an armed struggle. We are aware that a country-wide network of cells has been set up.

"There is a carefully orchestrated plan to acquire arms and ammunition."

Like the OB, the organisation operates on two levels.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder confirmed this week that so-called "Boer commandos" were being formed on a regional basis "with commandants in every town and generals overseeing every region."

Commandos members would be in "perfect battle shape" thanks to their military training as national servicemen, he said.

But the commandos do not, apparently, form part of the underground cells, which—like the OB's Stormvalke—would be assigned to carry out acts of terrorism.

The cells would also be charged with the assassination of ANC and left-wing leaders.

Security sources believe these cells would be activated to set off violent turmoil, thus giving the commandos the excuse to mobilise for "volk and vaderland."

The fanatical underground is a coalition of ultra-right-wing splinter groups formed by AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging] dissidents since the fall from grace of their leader, Mr Terre Blanche.

"There appears to be no formal link to any of the legitimate right-wing groups," said a senior intelligence source.

Several cells operate independently, but they all have a common objective: to topple President F.W. de Klerk's Government, to halt the reform process and to fight the ANC.

Dangerous

One of the most fanatical organisations, the Order of Death, was exposed towards the end of last year with the arrests of five men who allegedly had a "hit list" that

included the names of President De Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The Vaal Triangle cell, to which three of the men belonged, is regarded as the most dangerous.

Two of its members, Corrie Lottering and Fanie Goosen, are still on the run after escaping from a police van outside the Johannesburg Supreme Court last month shortly before they were due to be charged with murder.

There is a growing suspicion in security circles that the men—who allegedly killed and robbed a black taxi driver—are holed up at the same "safe house" that sheltered five known CCB [Civil Cooperation Bureau] members and two AWB men wanted in Namibia for murder.

Senior Defence Force and Police officers are also becoming increasingly concerned over what they call "misplaced sympathies" for extreme right-wing causes among some security force members.

A high-ranking SAP officer told the SUNDAY TIMES this week: "It becomes harder all the time to appoint investigating officers to probe right-wing activities.

"We don't know where some of their political sympathies lie, or whether they can be trusted to conduct a full and unbiased investigation.

"When the ANC was the enemy it was easy. Nowadays it's a different story, with brothers in the same family holding opposing political views.

"There's a lot of tension in the force. There is widespread anger over the way policemen have been made out for years in left-wing quarters to be the baddies.

"It's given the CCB an almost perfect cover, and much of its work has gone unhindered as a result."

The sources said police had investigated reports that Kempton Park and Benoni underground cells had been given advanced weapons training on a farm near Bronkhorstspuit just weeks before the murder last May of Wits academic and anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster.

Mr Jan Groenewald, former deputy leader of the AWB and now chief secretary of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging, warned yesterday that measures had been taken to "protect the Boer nation's lives, property and interests against alien elements."

"We will not give up our God-given right to protect our lives and what belongs to the volk," he said.

"The Boere Vryheidsbeweging will not serve under an alien regime.

"We put a high premium on the CP [Conservative Party]'s mass meeting at the Voortrekker Monument on May 26 and Dr Treurnicht's call for a million signatures.

"In less than a month, this country will see proof that the right wing enjoys the majority support of the volk.

"If the Government continues to ignore our calls for freedom and self-determination after that date, we will be ready for resistance."

Thieves

After the theft of SAAF weapons last Saturday, three national servicemen—Airman Christoffel Liebenberg, Airman Adriaan Vogel and Airman Francois van Rensburg—were arrested and refused bail when they appeared in court.

The raid on the arsenal, carried out with the help of duplicate keys, came after a recent call by AWB leader Mr Terre Blanche for "a million rifles for a million whites."

In addition to thousands of rounds of ammunition, the thieves got away with a number of R5 assault rifles, a light machinegun, several pump-action shotguns and 30 Z88 9mm pistols.

Rudolph has also been linked to the desecration of Jewish graves in a Pretoria cemetery just days before the theft.

He is wanted for questioning about a shotgun attack on the British Embassy in Pretoria on February 5.

He is also known as "Piet Donner" as a result of engaging in fistcuffs with former Pretoria mayor Dr Ernie Jacobsen in 1985.

During six years as a city councillor in the capital, Rudolph served first the HNP [Reformed National Party] then the Conservative Party before declaring himself an independent.

His career in local government was stormy and included a 35-day suspension—along with CP councillor Mr Joseph Chiole—for contempt of the mayor.

Rudolph was a founder member of the AWB but resigned in 1988 over differences with Mr Eugene Terre Blanche.

At the end of that year he was in the headlines again after being arrested on charges of malicious damage to property, discharging a firearm in a built-up area and illegal possession of teargas.

Rudolph was due to appear in court on April 28 over a shooting incident at the Pretoria North branch of the Natal Building Society after it withdrew agency rights from controversial Boksburg CP mayor Mr Beyers de Klerk.

Born at Viskuil near Springs in 1937, Rudolph left school after passing Std 8 and joined the SA Police. In a strange twist of fate, the man leading the manhunt for him is a former colleague and friend.

Militant

Colonel Suiker Brits, head of the Pretoria Murder and Robbery Squad, was stationed at the Welkom police station with Rudolph more than 20 years ago.

Rudolph resigned from the SAP as a warrant officer in 1970 and stood for the HNP—unsuccessfully—in Virginia.

He resigned from the HNP in 1986, saying: "When one rebels you don't go only half the way, you do it properly."

Clearly, the militant approach of the Boerestaters was more to his liking, and at a right-wing rally on February 10 at Church Square in Pretoria it was evident that Mr Rudolph was in charge of security.

He told the crowd that if any incidents occurred he would give the order for women and children to gather around the status of Paul Kruger.

The men would then form a barrier "like a wagon wheel" around them.

* Boer Army Set Up

34000634 Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English
22 Apr 90 p 4

[Text] A Boere army is being set up by Eugene Terre-Blanche's Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging and Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party to fight the government's intended negotiations with the ANC [African National Congress].

And fugitive Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, who this week allegedly stole an arsenal of weapons from the Air Force headquarters in Pretoria, told a newspaper this week: "The counterrevolution has started."

He would be sheltered from "place to place" Boerestaat Party [BP] leader Robert van Tonder said this week. "We will help him and support him where we can."

Among far-right organisations, which form a coalition with the Conservative Party [CP], signs of mobilisation became evident this week. Van Tonder used the language of armed resistance when he spoke about the mobilisation of the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and BP's Boere army this week. He referred to "revolt" and "mobilisation."

The AWB/BP army was based on the military system of the Boer Republics at the turn of the century: corporals for units, field cornets for towns, commandants for constituencies and generals for areas.

Officers like generals, as well as a head of the army, were already in the field, said Van Tonder.

The head of the army was a Colonel Jacobs and the army had a training camp, although newspapers were refused access to it. Van Tonder refused to give any information

about Jacobs, except that he was a former SADF [South African Defense Force] officer.

The Boere army recruits most of its members at political meetings addressed by Terre'Blanche and Van Tonder. Van Tonder said he was amazed at the numbers who were interested.

He denied the arms and ammunition stolen from the Air Force by Piet "Skiet" this week were destined for the Boere army's arsenal because "every white in the country" is already armed.

Most recruits for the AWB/BP army have already received military training. "This is the one favour the government did us," he said.

The AWB's para-military wing no longer fulfilled any military function and was now used mainly for the protection of the alliance's leaders.

Van Tonder referred to the day the Boere army would be used "in revolt" on behalf of the "Boerevolk." The Boere army would start to shoot on the day the "volk's right to make decisions for itself was taken away.

For the BP not even a referendum among the whites about the future of the country is acceptable—because a majority of whites can decide to give away the right of self-determination.

The revolt would be formally announced the day the government announced such a referendum.

The Conservative Party's security committee has virtually disappeared but unofficially several "security organisations" exist in the CP. One is the Brandwag of Manie Maritz of Britz.

Brandwag was not "a military organisation that made war," Maritz said. It was used against the background of the shortage of policemen for patrols and to protect people and property, he said.

Lt-Col Suiker Britz, head of the murder and robbery squad in Pretoria, was questioned about the arms and ammunition allegedly stolen by Piet Rudolph. He said "anything can happen any time."

Of the arms, valued at R180,000, only two 9-mm pistols and 25 cartridges have been found by the police. Three national servicemen appeared in court this week in connection with the robbery.

A board of inquiry has been set up by the SADF [South African Defense Forces] to investigate the theft.

* AWB Chief Warning

34000634 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English
25 Apr 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Cathy Thompson]

[Text] If the African National Congress [ANC] continued its armed struggle, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging would meet it head-on with an armed struggle of its own, AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said yesterday.

Speaking to THE CITIZEN about the formation of armed "Boere commandos," Mr Terre'Blanche said these commandos would act against anyone "who tried with violence to remove the freedom of the volk."

ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, had at the weekend reaffirmed his commitment to the armed struggle, which, Mr Terre'Blanche said, was not aimed at the security forces, but at women and children.

"My message to the ANC is that if it persists with its armed struggle, we will meet it head-on.

"There is only one large Right-wing movement which has through the years, been preparing itself for the collapse of law and order and it's the AWB."

Mr Terre'Blanche said every AWB structure in every town in South Africa had organised itself into commando units in accordance with his order of three weeks ago.

"I have, through the years, given the volk the assurance that, when the government capitulates and law and order collapse, the AWB will restore it with force."

One such "defence commando" had been formed with 300 members in Durban at the weekend and people were joining the AWB at such a rate that its head office staff had to be increased from 10 to 14 to cope with the application for membership.

Mr Terre'Blanche would not say how many new members were joining the organisation daily, but said there was "no hall or venue which could contain the numbers at meetings since January."

Commando members were not recruited, but were mostly existing AWB members in the various structures, and all new members were welcome to join the commandos, which were voluntary units.

Mr Terre'Blanche was prepared to give details of the internal structures of the commandos, said they were "directly under my authority and that of the executive committee of the AWB" and were based on the same principles as the old Boer commandos.

A certain Colonel Jacobs had been instructed to take personal charge of the commandos, which were "preparing for ANC violence and the disruption of law and order, should the defence force and the police be totally unable to control the situation."

The AWB's goals remained the same as they had always been.

"We will not allow our people to be murdered. It looks to me as though the government is on the road to capitulation. We are not prepared to live under an ANC government, which will mean chaos."

No date had been set for the taking up of arms, but Mr Terre'Blanche said "all hell would break loose" if the ANC ran the country.

One fugitive, Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, for whom police are searching in connection with the theft of weapons from SAAF [South African Air Force] headquarters in Pretoria over the Easter weekend, Mr Terre'Blanche said he accepted that the Right-wing would protect Mr Rudolph.

Asked whether Mr Rudolph had been instrumental in establishing the commandos, Mr Terre'Blanche said "all organisation heads had, to an extent, been involved."

Mr Rudolph, as deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, had been involved in public meetings and, specifically, in organisation without the AWB.

"No power on earth, not I nor Dr (Andries) Treurnicht (leader of the Conservative Party), would be able to prohibit the volk from performing deeds in sympathy with the cause."

He disagreed with a report in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper quoting Boerestaat Party leader, Mr Robert van Tonder, as saying the Boerevolk would "start shooting on the day the volk's right to decision-making for itself was removed."

The report quoted Mr Van Tonder as saying even a White referendum on the future constitution would not be acceptable to the alliance (of the AWB and the Boerestaat Party) as the majority of Whites could decide to forfeit their right to decision-making.

"Although there is cooperation between the two movements, that is Mr Van Tonder's opinion and not mine," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

* Conservative Party Predicts New 'Mfecane'

34000637B Pretoria PATRIOT in English
13 Apr 90 p 15

[Article by Duncan du Bois]

[Text] Whilst the government may have committed itself totally to the policy of so-called power sharing (which in the African context is interpreted as the abdication of power), what remains a reality is that there are still some ten different Black tribal groupings within South Africa. No degree of so-called reform can change that reality. Instead, it is bringing that reality sharply into the open.

Ethnicity has in recent times once again been acknowledged as the foremost socio-political phenomenon in the world. Anthony D. Smith in his book "The Ethnic Revival" (1981) writes: "The dissolution of ethnicity;

the transcendence of nationalism; the internationalisation of culture. These have been the dreams and expectations of liberals, socialists and rationalists in practically every country. And practically every country has been confounded and disappointed. Although in the latter half of the 20th century the world has become more unified, and its states more interdependent than at any previous period of history, the hopes of the cosmopolitans everywhere seem farther than ever from being realised, and ethnic ties and national loyalties have become stronger and more deeply rooted than ever."

Europe

Suppressed nationalism transformed Eastern Europe into a seething cauldron of unrest which, by 1914, had reached proportions sufficient to ignite a European war. Although these national aspirations were addressed after World War I, within twenty years they were violated, first by the Nazis and then by the communists. Yet after fifty years of ruthless suppression, Eastern European nationalisms are once again vigorous and strident, proving the resilience and irrepressible nature of ethnicity and nationalism.

The simmering ethnic unrest within the USSR is a case in point. By his policy of perestroika, Gorbachev is giving due recognition to an incontrovertible reality which not even the Soviet jackboot has been able to erase. Gorbachev knows that he cannot achieve stability within the USSR except if he restructures it along ethnic and federal lines. The situation in South Africa is hardly different. No amount of rhetoric from De Klerk and Mandela can paper over the real and fractious nature of this country's social situation.

Fighting

To a certain extent the increasingly anarchic conditions within South Africa today are a consequence of what Blacks perceive as the demise of White control, and what appears to be an unwillingness by Whites to continue to rule themselves. However, much of the prevailing violence is a result of internecine fighting among and within the different Black groupings. Sensing the arrival of the so-called post-apartheid era, it would seem that Blacks are scrambling and manoeuvring amongst themselves to assert claims to power.

Thus calls for a non-racial South Africa fly in the face of ethnic and historical realities. For, if anything, such calls serve only to exacerbate insecurities amongst groups and to increase the potential for violence. In the last century, the rise of the Zulu under Chaka and Dingaan precipitated a massive redistribution of Black tribes across Southern Africa.

Aggressive Zulu nationalism forced many tribes into submission but at the same time, it also heightened the defined tribal consciousness of many others and demarcated territorial domains. Thus, the "Mfecane" left its mark on Southern Africa.

Mindful of the repetitive cycle in South African history, it may well be that a second "Mfecane" movement is about to take place among the Blacks, as the different tribal groupings jockey for power in what they regard as the post-apartheid era. Once again the Zulus look set to be at the centre of the spiral of violence, but this time confronting the Xhosa-led ANC [African Nation Congress].

Therefore, given the historical and ethnic realities of the South African situation, the prospect of peace in a unitary, multi-racial "new South Africa" is a pipe dream. In his book entitled "South Africa After Vorster," Professor M.T.W. Arnheim actually defined the pursuit of such a course as a "non-existent alternative." Quite so. Only a policy of partition can address that aspiration.

*** Youths Flee Natal for ANC Safety in Zambia**

34000637C Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English
22 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] Escalating violence in Natal has forced about 150 youths into exile in Zambia, where they have taken refuge at ANC [African National Congress] headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina told a news conference in Lusaka—where the 150 were paraded—the number of South African [SA] refugees fleeing from Natal to Swaziland had increased during the past few weeks, and many were finding their way to Lusaka.

About 10 youths a day were crossing to Swaziland before being moved on to Lusaka, Sebina said.

Four-year-old Nzoza Gaba and his sister Lindiwe, 10, who had been caught up in the violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, were among the refugees, he added.

Sources in Swaziland said there were about 70 youths in the country who had fled what they described as the "killing fields" of Natal. Some of the youths were being housed at Malindza refugee reception centre near Manzini. Others were at prison remand centres around the country.

The first group of 17 arrived in Swaziland at the beginning of March.

One youth told reporters: "The violence is being perpetrated by (Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi in connivance with police and with the blessing of (Law and Order Minister Adriaan) Vlok.

"It was terrifying. We could have been hacked to death at any time. We had no alternative but to flee."

Refugee Sibusiso Mdabe, 27, told reporters none of those in his group had been kidnapped by the ANC, as alleged in media reports. They had fled the country because they feared they would be killed in the wave of violence, he said.

About 3,000 people have been killed and thousands left homeless during the past 18 months in violent clashes between the two factions.

Sebina said the ANC had not yet formally sought refugee status for the exiles through the UN High Commission for Refugees, but might seek assistance if the influx continued.

Five other refugees from Natal were reported to have flown to Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania from Swaziland.

Meanwhile yesterday, 40 South African clerics began a two-day meeting with ANC leaders in Lusaka to discuss the return of South African exiles.

The delegation included representatives from the SA Council of Churches, the Catholic Bishops Conference, and Moslem, Hindu and Jewish communities.

Medical experts and social workers from South Africa are joining in the discussions.

Head of ANC religious affairs Rev John Lamola said long-term exiles were expected to encounter difficulties finding homes and jobs when they returned.

About 20,000 South Africans are estimated to be living in exile.—SAPA, AP, ANO.

*** Background to Natal Faction Fighting Examined**

34000633 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
17, 18, 19 Apr 90 p 12

[Article by Matthew Kentridge]

[PART I: 17 Apr 90 p 12]

[Text] On March 28, South Africans woke up to the fact that something ugly was happening in Maritzburg. Headlines trumpeted the news in huge bold print: "Natal on the boil", "Thousands in impi attack".

Over the next few days there was a continuous stream of stories, documenting this fresh carnage. A force of up to 12,000 men, many carrying guns and some even armed with automatic weapons, attacked the same areas again and again. Gezibuso, kwaShange, Vulisaka, kwaMyandu, Caluza, Ashdown—these obscure place names kept appearing in a grim litany of mayhem.

Riding on the back of stories of young women gratuitously shot in their beds, babies drowned as refugees fled across the swollen Msunduze river, the glib explanation: on Sunday March 25, youths in Edendale stoned buses carrying Inkatha supporters to a rally at King's Park Stadium in Durban. The ensuing violence constituted their response.

By and large, this explanation was accepted uncritically. The superficial logic of cause and effect was not questioned, just as the deceitful term "black-on-black violence" is accepted for the explanation it isn't.

But parallel to these reports of what appeared to be an incomprehensible and general savagery, a second account emerged, put out by the ad hoc crisis committee, established after the initial attacks, with its headquarters at the Center for Adult Education.

Members of the crisis committee, on call 24 hours a day, took statements from refugees, from the wounded, from people who had lost family and property. They travelled the lawless roads of Edendale and neighboring Vulindlela and helped establish refugee camps. They observed first-hand the behavior of the impis, the actions of the police.

In a report circulated on April 2, the committee stated that the violence was overwhelmingly one-sided, and that Inkatha forces based in the Elandskop rural area were waging a massive, concerted and planned attack on non-Inkatha settlements in Vulindlela and the Edendale valley.

After collating a week's worth of information, the report demonstrated that over 90 percent of those killed were either anti-Inkatha or non-Inkatha supporters, and that out of more than 11,500 documented refugees, at most 100 people were Inkatha supporters.

The report also identified a number of other crucial points.

Stonings

- A week of murder and pillage which left more than 80 people dead is totally disproportional retaliation to the stoning of buses, particularly as such stonings are regular (though lamentable) occurrences, indulged in by both sides.
- Although the stonings occurred in Edendale, most of the areas attacked were distant from Edendale and the main highway.
- A force of 12,000 men does not simply coalesce spontaneously. Massive resources and logistical planning are necessary to co-ordinate its movements, provide transport, weapons, ammunition and sustenance.
- On the nights before the main attacks, large crowds gathered at the kraal of Mr David Ntombela, Inkatha branch chairman of KwaMncane and kwaZulu Legislative Assembly MP [Member of Parliament]. Mr Ntombela, known locally as "Inkatha warlord number one", was also observed on the scene.
- This most recent eruption of fighting is marked off from previous cycles of violence in the region by the vast number of guns, and consequently, gunshot fatalities. Had the guns been stockpiled over a long period in anticipation of this offensive? Was some malicious third party running guns to Inkatha? The questions remain unanswered.

By far the most disturbing question, however, is why violence on this scale was allowed to happen at all.

Where were the police? While houses were firebombed and communities attacked, where were the forces of law and order?

In Parliament the police stated that they were doing everything possible to contain the violence, but they were seriously undermanned.

The State President conferred with the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Defence.

About 2,000 troops were sent to Natal. Mr Vlok conferred with his generals; he appeared on television. The police were wearing their responsible face for all to see.

But on the ground the story was quite different, yet grimly familiar for the residents of the area who have come to distrust the police, and, by extension, the whole apparatus of the law. Reports came in of police collusion with Inkatha; of police failing to respond to urgent calls for help; of police, telling residents to leave besieged areas as they could provide no help.

On the other hand, the police intervened quickly and vigorously to disarm youths going to defend the borders of areas under attack from Inkatha. They also acted firmly to disperse a march by 500 unarmed women on Plessislaer police station.

The women were protesting against police partisanship towards Inkatha and many were arrested for their pains.

But beyond these perceived sins of commission were those of omission. Members of the crisis committee took statements from eyewitnesses who alleged that the police were actually preventing the SADF [South African Defense Forces] from intervening.

The army can only be deployed under police orders and these were not forthcoming. Through some of the worst fighting, platoons of soldiers stood by idle, halted on the Edendale highway unable to proceed.

These are serious allegations against the police, and the worst of it is they are not new. Political conflict in the Natal Midlands is endemic. The current wave of violence is part of a much longer and more deeply rooted process than many realize.

And there can be no resolution to it until the police start acting in a non-partisan, compassionate but professional manner.

Likewise, it is not enough to accept quick explanations for specific outbreaks of violence. It is necessary to dig more deeply in order to find the roots of the conflict.

[PART II: 18 Apr 90 p 12]

There is a process of forgetting in the public consciousness, an attrition of memory which results in the failure to relate current events to their constitutive histories.

Just so with the current political conflict in Natal. The carnage in Maritzburg and the wave of killings in

Mpumalanga are not self-explanatory, discrete occurrences, but part of a long internecine struggle which has gripped the Natal Midlands for more than two years.

An understanding of the causes of this interminable conflict is essential in order to assess the motivations behind the most recent incidents.

In this region, the bitter warfare between Inkatha and supporters of the UDF [United Democratic Front] and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] has claimed well over 2,000 lives, wrecked family and community life, turned tens of thousands of people into refugees and caused incalculable mental and physical damage.

Many theories have been put forward to explain the origins of the conflict. Some favor what is known as a "socio-economic" argument which states that the fundamental causes are poverty and joblessness which, coupled with an angry and volatile township youth, find expression in violence.

Criminal Behavior

In this version, the political nature of the violence is downplayed, and the violence is seen primarily as criminal behavior on a wide scale.

The theory has certain attractions. Certainly unemployment and a lack of hope contribute substantially to the humid climate of violence that hangs over the region. But as an explanation, it is insufficient.

Poverty and unemployment are neither unique to the Midlands nor higher there than elsewhere.

In addition, the residents of the area perceive the violence as primarily political. Although many are only vaguely aware of the specific ideological messages of Inkatha and the UDF, they firmly identify the protagonists by political organizations.

A second theory sees the violence as a result of a rural-urban, generational cleavage, whereby older, rural-based Zulus, with a strong sense of tribal tradition, react strongly against younger, urban, cosmopolitan Zulus.

This theory, too, has appeal and accords to a fairly typical political profile as well. However, again the theory is too general. Both Inkatha and the UDF have cross-generational support, and the terrain of conflict has not been merely rural-urban, but rural-rural and urban-urban as well.

Ultimately, the causes of the war are more party political than these analyses concede. Both Inkatha and the UDF perceive the political nature of their conflict. According to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the fighting in the Midlands is the latest development in an ANC [African National Congress]-orchestrated campaign to destroy the organization.

The UDF, by contrast, sees itself as the victim of a joint strategy devised by Inkatha and the State to crush all "progressive" organizations in Natal.

It is not surprising that two such incompatible political movements should fall into dispute.

Modern Image

Although it adopts an anti-apartheid stance, Inkatha is a strongly conservative organization, strong in rural areas, which relies on and appeals to Zulu nationalism and pride.

The UDF, on the other hand, presents an aggressively modern image, and its campaigns tend to focus on problems facing the urban black population. The UDF's broad, supra-ethnic appeal directly opposes the narrow nationalist ethic of Inkatha.

This challenge is recognized by Inkatha and many of the anti-UDF denunciations issued by officials in the organization are crudely racist stamps: loyal supporters of Inkatha are warned of sinister whites, Indians and Xhosa in the UDF, intent on manipulating and undermining Zulus.

Why this long-standing political enmity should have erupted so dramatically in Maritzburg the other week, and again in Mpumalanga last week, remains a moot point.

One explanation is that the paltry crowd at the Inkatha rally in Durban on March 25 (8,000 as opposed to the ANC's 150,000 on February 25) may have highlighted, yet again, the threat posed in Inkatha by the UDF.

Inkatha's invasion of non-Inkatha areas in Maritzburg and Mpumalanga can be seen as an initiative which tries on the one hand to drive the UDF out of the region, and, on the other, to win over the residents in these areas to the cause of Inkatha.

If this is the case, the military exercise was singularly misconceived, as the majority of the victims of the attacks come from this constituency.

War of Attrition

But there is a second, related, explanation of the explosion in the Midlands. For more than two years, the region has been in the grip of a slow, wearing war of attrition; a stalemate in which both sides control specific areas, and skirmishes take place along borders, rather than across them.

It is possible that the latest attacks constitute an attempt by Inkatha to break free of this impasse, to cross borders, annex territory and so change the political geography of the region.

[PART III: 19 Apr 90 p 12]

At the height of the violence in Maritzburg at the end of March, after 30 people had been killed in a single day, it

was announced that Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha and Mr Nelson Mandela of the ANC would address a joint rally at Taylor's Halt in the rural area of Vulindlela.

The following day the ANC withdrew and the rally was cancelled. The general response was one of shock and outrage. The ANC was castigated for maliciously aborting the peace process.

The ANC claims that it had never agreed formally to the rally in the first place. The announcement was leaked, leaving the ANC in an embarrassing position.

In fact, a rally at Taylor's Halt—the site of numerous clashes between Inkatha and UDF supporters—would have been a dangerous experiment. It could easily have become a battleground.

More significantly, the bluster surrounding the rally is indicative of a strangely short-sighted approach to the question of peace in Natal.

The approach, which can be summarized as the "rally mentality", places all hopes for peace on a meeting or on a joint rally addressed by both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

A recent newspaper editorial declared: "A joint rally could save Natal", and articles by journalists and other political commentators focus almost exclusively on the political obstacles to such a meeting.

Talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would certainly serve some purpose. Both are charismatic and respected leaders. Their words have clout; people listen to what they say.

An Inkatha-ANC palaver would send a signal to the effect that both sides were getting serious about peace.

However, such a meeting constitutes only the first, and easiest, stage-post on the road to peace.

The history of the war in the Natal midlands is littered with broken peace attempts. Every few months a new round of meetings—"talks about talks" and sometimes even "talks"—have been convened between top-level executive officials in Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu, and each new initiative has been hailed a major breakthrough.

Unfortunately, none have proved either "major" or a "breakthrough".

Bad Faith

Inkatha and the UDF tend to attribute each fresh breakdown to bad faith on the part of the other, and to some extent both have been guilty of this. However, the failure of all peace initiatives to date is the product of a far more fundamental and intractable problem.

It is one which exposes the limits of the rally mentality, and undermines high level, high profile diplomatic activity between officers of the rival organizations.

What each successive failure has illustrated more and more clearly is that the process of translating the decisions of top-ranking officials into action at the grassroots level is fraught with difficulties. There are two compounding aspects to the problem.

The first consists of the lack of intermediate organizational structures; there is no reliable mechanism to relay signals from the top down or the bottom up.

And even where a chain of command still exists, there is no guarantee that local officials will follow the directives of their national executives. UDF "comrades", for whom the war is a way of life and mistrust of Inkatha the most fundamental component of their world view, were not prepared to heed Mr Mandela and "throw their weapons into the sea".

Likewise, Inkatha warlords, many of whom have reaped large material and political rewards from the war, will not necessarily accede to Chief Buthelezi's calls for peace.

The second aspect of the problem is the fact that the original political dispute has spawned a host of local, personal feuds.

These gloomy prognostications do not mean that there is nothing to be done for Natal. There are three major steps that should be taken immediately and in conjunction with one another to bring about a substantial reduction in the levels of violence.

- First, the police must show themselves to be an honest, impartial professional force. The police have forfeited the trust of the black residents of the midlands and their recent actions show that the old pathologies of partisanship, bad faith and obstructiveness are still there.

It is up to the police to flush out the perpetrators of violence comprehensively and in an even-handed manner. When this happens the cycle of violence and revenge will be broken as people no longer take the law into their own hands.

Second, both Inkatha and the ANC and UDF must strengthen their intermediate and local levels of organization. Talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi will have neither influence nor purchase without a formal, disciplined chain of communication.

Third, a socio-economic development plan is needed. Apart from the need to resuscitate devastated areas and repair the ravages of war, the foot soldiers on both sides must have some alternative to fighting. The development proposal for Natal announced by the State President in early April is a first, but insufficient, step.

The Government has to regain the trust of communities which have been ignored and neglected for years. A development plan under the auspices of the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs will not succeed in this respect.

Rather, the Government should make development funding available, to be administered by a third party who enjoys credibility with all sides. In other words, something is needed similar to the R2 billion general development trust fund to be administered by Mr Jan Steyn.

None of these measures is straightforward, nor will their implementation be easily achieved. But at least they are something positive to work towards.

These difficulties notwithstanding, ultimately none of the parties has any choice: without a solution to Natal, the much vaunted forthcoming negotiations on the future of South Africa will be just so much empty talk.

*** Minister: 60-Day Duty for Commandos, CF**

34000637A Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
19 Apr 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text] Cape Town—In a new move to toughen up on security and end the violence in Natal and elsewhere, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, last night announced the re-institution of 60-day duty for Citizen Force and Commando members.

General Malan said this was a temporary measure, but had become unavoidable because of the situation in Natal and the potential for unrest elsewhere in the country.

He directly blamed the ANC [African National Congress]'s continued commitment to the "armed struggle," and called on the organisation's Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, and associated political organisations to renounce violence in unambiguous terms.

The ANC was not only thwarting the peace process, but also creating a strain on the economy.

Mr Mandela and the ANC, as well as organisations which were associated with the "armed struggle," could no longer close their eyes to the violence that was occurring in South Africa and to the consequences of this violence, said General Malan.

On April 20 last year General Malan announced the halving of the period of service for Citizen Force and Commando members from 60 days to 30 days—a decision reversed yesterday.

At the time he said the shortened period was dependent on the security demands in the country.

"No peace process can truly make progress if violence continues or if violence is maintained as an option," General Malan said last night.

"Revolutionary intimidation and mobilisation of people is taking place on a large scale and is linked with the ANC's commitment to a continuation of the armed struggle.

"It is high time that the ANC and all who stand by it unequivocally dissociated themselves from violence and that which goes with it.

"They are not only thwarting the peace process, but are also placing large and unnecessary pressure on the economy."

Against this background, South Africa could be thankful that it had such a prepared, disciplined and dedicated Citizen Force and Commando members.

"These people deliver their services in the midst of economic or other activities on which their existence depends.

"South Africa must now again lean more heavily on them to protect order in the country and to protect the lives and property of people.

"I thank them and their families in advance for their services and sacrifice," General Malan added.

He trusted that the ANC and Mr Mandela would soon appreciate the realities so that the whole situation in regard to security action could be reviewed.

He stressed that the announcement of the 60-day period of service did not change the 12-month period for national servicemen.

Last night's announcement follows the statement to Parliament by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, on April 2 that the SA [South African] Police and SA Defence Force had been ordered to "act immediately, firmly and purposefully" to end the incidence of unrest and violence in the country.

Mr De Klerk said the steps were designed to neutralise revolutionary and radical agendas aimed at conflict and illegal mass actions, to eliminate irregular political activity and stop groups from taking the law into their own hands.

*** Polish Chamber Head on New Trade Agreement**

34000632A Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
27 Apr 90 p 12

[Text] Cape Town—South African [SA] businessmen were welcome to take part in the development of an East/West trade centre aimed at pursuing trade free of political interference, the president of the Polish Chamber of Commerce, Dr Andrzej Arendarski, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the signing of a development agreement between his chamber and the Northern Transvaal Chamber of Commerce.

The signing was done in the office of the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr Kent Durr, by himself and the executive director of the N Tvl Chamber, Mr John Toerien.

It commits the signatories to using their "best endeavours" to strengthen economic relations between themselves and their two countries, to opening offices in each other's territories and grants them observer status at each others' meetings.

Dr Arendarski said after the ceremony that he would like to see Poland as the focus of trade between the former Eastern Bloc countries and the Western world.

"We would like to invite investors, shareholders from your country to participate in a trade centre. The aim of the enterprise is to pursue trade without political conditions and influences.

"We would like to buy your iron ore, your excellent wines, and wool also."

The Polish chamber's permanent representative in SA, Mr Tadeusz Kainski, said the economies of Poland and SA were complimentary.

"We have a lot of products you need and you have a lot we need. there is a potential for a very big turnover in a very short time.

"We can offer equipment, technology, ship-building and chemical industries, while you have a very well-developed packaging industry, which we need, and some very interesting technologies in the chemical industry."

An agreement had been signed yesterday to buy 200,000 tons of iron ore, and Poland had promised to buy a total of 600,000 tons in 1990.

* CSIR Tackling Shortage of Skills

34000635A Johannesburg *ENGINEERING WEEK*
in English 20 Mar 90 pp 1-2

[Text] Following an article in the February 16 issue of *ENGINEERING WEEK* regarding a possible solution to the skills shortage, the CSIR [Council for Scientific and Industrial Research]'s Foundation for Research Development [FRD] has expressed its wish to form an organisation similar to the one mentioned in the article.

The organisation, Achievement Rewards for College Students (ARCS), sponsors science and engineering students in America.

In the article, *ENGINEERING WEEK* called on organisations which would be interested in forming such an organisation here, to come forward.

In a letter to *ENGINEERING WEEK*, Dr Reinhard Arndt, FRD group executive, said: "We read the article in the February 16 issue of *ENGINEERING WEEK* with considerable interest since it relates directly to the mission of the Foundation for Research Development (FRD), namely the development of appropriate scientific and technological manpower under competent leadership.

"I do not wish to comment on the validity, or otherwise, of the comments raised in your article about obstacles in the way of establishing a programme such as the ARCS in South Africa.

"I should, however, briefly like to outline initiatives taken by the FRD to address problems identified in education.

"The FRD's Manpower Planning Action focuses mainly on three activities:

- An employment forum which includes contact and interaction with the users of manpower in science and technology, aimed at identifying and assessing realistic needs and trends and the provision of a link between the employment market and university, technician and school educators.
- Participation forums which provide opportunities for contact and interaction and which focus mainly on the primary and secondary school levels with the broad objectives to eliminate duplication, thereby optimising scarce resources and to identify parties involved in the development of manpower potential so that the FRD can act in a networking role.
- Schools programme aimed at creating an awareness at school level, both for pupils and teachers, of quality science and career opportunities in science and technology.

"This programme includes planning for early identification of pupils who show aptitude and interest and facilitating their further development; the identification of school teachers with the right attributes to teach science and mathematics and assisting in enhancing their performance; the launching of pilot projects as a means of testing the feasibility of implementing, for instance, educational technology on a large scale and the provision of realistic information on scientific and technological career paths for scholars.

"In addition to supporting expertise through grants to proven researchers, the Foundation also administers a bursary scheme for supporting postgraduate and post-diploma students at universities and technikons, respectively.

"FRD bursaries have recently been expanded to include bursaries for undergraduate study in natural science and engineering. Of the 63 first year scholarships awarded, about 54 percent are for engineering students.

"Through its involvement in the development of high level expertise, the FRD has gained considerable experience in the evaluation of candidates on the one hand and the identification of market-related priorities and needs on the other, enabling FRD Special and Development Programmes as well as joint ventures with industry to be targeted towards addressing these needs.

"By the same token FRD forum activities provide interested parties (scientists, representatives from the public sector and industry, among others) with a valuable

means of interaction in order to pinpoint problem areas and outline present as well as future manpower and other requirements.

"The FRD, because of its well-developed infrastructure and its long and close association with manpower development, in our opinion would present the ideal environment for coordinating the establishment and maintenance of an organisation such as suggested by Protec's David Kramer."

The reference to David Kramer of Protec is made because he was approached with a view to Protec possibly administering such an organisation.

He has said he would be pleased to get in touch with ARCS to learn of its fund-raising and administration activities.

* Survey Results on Black Population in Country

34000635C Johannesburg THE STAR in English
4 Apr 90 p 6

[Text] The results of a population survey by the Central Statistical Service indicates that the number of black people in South Africa totalled 21.3 million in November 1989.

The survey included development regions, provinces and self-governing territories.

The total is made up of 52 percent males and 48 percent females.

Thirty-nine percent of the male population are economically active with an unemployment rate of 8 percent. Of the 48 percent of females about 28 percent is economically active with an approximately 15 percent unemployment rate.

About 2.5 percent of the black population lives in the Western Cape, 29 percent in Natal/kwaZulu and 23 percent in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area.

Of the economically active black people, 3 percent live in the Western Cape, 22.5 percent live in Natal/kwaZulu and nearly 33 percent in the PWV area.—SAPA

* Low Gold Price Jeopardizes Mines' Future

34000635B Johannesburg THE STAR in English
19 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by Michael Chester]

[Text] The future of 18 of South Africa [SA]'s 31 gold mines has come under threat because of soaring production costs and low gold prices on world markets, according to information from the SA Chamber of Mines.

Mr Kennedy Maxwell, president of the chamber, said yesterday that international bullion price levels had to lift from the present price of around \$375 to at least \$390 to rescue these mines.

"There are many mines under great strain to do something radical—or face closure," he said.

Alarm bells have been ringing since February, when gold started to drop from above the \$420 level.

Jitters spread across the mining industry when Rand Mines confirmed this week that its ERPM gold mine near Boksburg had lost R20 million in the first three months of the year.

A Chamber of Mines spokesman said it was premature to talk about closures, but the situation looked extremely serious.

Mr Maxwell said 15 mines were threatened with losses on their balance sheets if gold stayed below a break-even level now running at about \$390—even if they did not count the cost of their normal capital expenditure programmes.

If spending on modernisation or expansion was taken into account, the disaster list would grow to 18.

Labor Force

"Let's not speculate about the risks of closures, but the mines running at a loss between them employ a combined labour force of well over 116,000," he said.

The 18 mines in danger of plunging into losses are, in order of risk:

- ERPM (Rand Mines).
- Venterspost (Gold Fields).
- Western Areas (Johannesburg Consolidated Investments).
- Durban Deep in Roodepoort (Rand Mines).
- Doornfontein (Gold Fields).
- Libanon (Gold Fields).
- Marievale on the East Rand (Gencor).
- Loraine (Anglovaal).
- West Rand Consolidated (Gencor).
- Blyvooruitzicht (Rand Mines).
- Harmony (Rand Mines).
- Barberton (Gencor).
- Bracken (Gencor).
- Randfontein Estates (JCI).
- Grootvlei in Springs (Gencor).
- Stilfontein in Klerksdorp (Gencor).
- Leslie (Gencor).
- Free State Cons (Anglo American).

Mr Maxwell said the danger list had been worked out on statistics showing mines sinking below break-even point if average gold prices stood at about \$390 an ounce in projections running to mid-year.

"Since 1980 our real annual profits have depreciated every year," he said.

Angola**Minister on U.S. 'Plot' To Remove MPLA**

*MB17051047 #0 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 16 May 90*

[Text] Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy returns to the country this evening after attending the third ordinary meeting of foreign ministers from the Nordic countries and the Frontline States in Oslo, Norway.

During a stopover in Lisbon yesterday, Minister Loy accused South Africa of intensifying its military actions against Angola by increasing its never-ended assistance to UNITA. According to the Angolan official, the United States and South Africa work in coordination.

Accordingly, he denounced a plot to remove the MPLA-[Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Labor Party from power, using UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy said that the U.S. Congress planned to give \$80 million to UNITA to intensify its military actions and storm Luanda, the Angolan capital.

With regard to peace negotiations with UNITA, Loy said that the Angolan Government expected to receive in the second half of this month a response from UNITA on the nine points of its proposal and thereafter conditions would be created for the second round of direct contacts.

However, it appears as if UNITA does not intend to make concrete and speedy steps toward peace taking into account the intensification of its criminal actions throughout the country, particularly in the northern region of the country.

Loy on Aid to UNITA, Portuguese Talks Role

*MB1705204290 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy yesterday denounced the fact that the fuel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] uses to wage war in Angola has been supplied by South Africa. He said that despite promises made by the Pretoria authorities to withdraw military equipment from Angola, quantities of South African war materiel as well military advisors to UNITA remain on Angolan territory.

Minister Loy said confirmed reports from various sources indicated that South Africa has resumed supplying large quantities of military aid to UNITA. He noted that this explains the current actions being carried out by the rebel group, mainly against civilian targets.

The Angolan foreign minister, who was speaking to Angola National Radio and JORNAL DE ANGOLA on his return yesterday from a trip to Norway and Portugal, once again denounced a U.S. and South African ploy

aimed at overthrowing the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party government.

[Begin Loy recording] The United States has never denied that it is aiding UNITA. It has also not denied the fact that it is seeking the approval of additional military aid to UNITA worth \$80 million to make up for the losses suffered at Mavinga. The United States does not deny this. They actually admit: We are providing aid because it is necessary to make up for these losses.

South Africa has resumed its aid. So, there is no doubt about the ongoing ploy against the People's Republic of Angola, not only to destabilize the country but also to remove the MPLA from power. [end recording]

Turning to the ongoing peace process, Minister Loy said he believed in the possibility of Durao Barroso, Portugal's secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation—who arrives in Angola on a short visit tomorrow—bringing UNITA's response to the government's nine-point proposal which was discussed at length during the preliminary meetings held in Portugal.

As for the Portuguese Government's role in the Angolan peace process, Loy said the need for a mediator no longer exists in view of the Angolan Government's decision to hold direct talks. Therefore, Portugal could use its good offices.

[Begin Loy recording] A mediation process has been carried out by the committee of the eight southern and central African heads of state, in which President Mobutu played a key role. For various reasons known to all of us, he created an impasse and blocked the process. This made the Angolan Government decide on direct talks with UNITA.

We regard Portugal's position as very positive. It is using its good offices to enable the two sides to hold talks. That is Portugal's only role. So, there is not, and there will not be, Portuguese or any other type of mediation because we believe that from now on direct talks should be the way of solving our problems. This is the way of ensuring an end to foreign interference and to prevent the internationalization of the conflict, as well as ensuring a solution to the conflict. Furthermore, this will permit Angolans to meet each other.

I would like to believe that UNITA will adopt a patriotic spirit and be capable of understanding national problems, the people's suffering, and cease the subservient role it has played up to now. UNITA should take Angolans' interests to heart and effectively accept an open and frank dialogue which may lead the Angolan people to peace and to the creation of conditions for them to dedicate their efforts to the country's economic and social development. [end recording]

MPLA Denies Supplying Equipment to Namibia

*MB1805110390 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] The Government of the People's Republic of Angola today denied reports circulated by certain press

circles that our country had supplied military equipment to the Republic of Namibia valued at \$2 million in exchange for so-called assistance that that country might eventually render to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

An Angolan Foreign Ministry statement received at our news desk says there is currently a campaign of disinformation and slander against Angola, pointing out that this is only possible within the framework of the propaganda machinery put at UNITA's disposal by U.S. special services, as well as services from some Western and/or African countries.

The statement also points out that these reports are circulated in the country through various U.S. circles hostile to Angola and are part of the traditional (?maneuvers) of the enemies of the Angolan people. It is also the objective of this campaign to sabotage efforts in search of a genuine and honorable peace through a peaceful solution resulting from a serious, direct, independent dialogue.

UNITA Reports Bie Province Massacre

MB1805070390 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 18 May 90

[Text] Thursday, May 17, 1990 [dateline as received]
Dozens of youths have been massacred in Chikala, an outpost in Bie Province.

Well-informed sources say the mass killing of the Angolan youths occurred Tuesday [15 May] this week when the command of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] army battalion stationed at Kambandwa indiscriminately opened fire on a group of boys who had earlier been rounded up for recruitment.

According to the sources, many of those killed were either shot at the back of their head or right in the back. The boys had been escaping forced recruitment.

The killing, which has been described as "horrible massacre" by Chikala residents and those in the vicinity is the worst of its kind in the area in the ongoing forced recruitment campaign.

The sources say there is tense atmosphere right now between parents of those killed and the MPLA government authorities in the area.

UNITA Reports 17 May Military Situation

MB1805065690 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern
and Central Africa 0500 GMT 18 May 90

["Political and Military Situation Report" for 17 May—
read by announcer]

[Text] 1. FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] troops retreating from Mavinga have just reached Chaminga River, from where they expect to receive further instructions on future military steps from their commanders.

2. Enemy forces at Lucumbi, on the Caiundo front, are experiencing intense shelling from our artillery. A number of cargo and combat vehicles have been destroyed, and our forces have already killed 23 FAPLA soldiers in the past eight days.

3. Our forces at 0800 on 17 May raided Quibala town, forcing the enemy to flee in disarray after a 45-minute firefight. Until now, our forces have had total control over the town, while enemy forces have taken the western direction, toward Gabela.

4. Facts have once again proved that to insist on war is to aim at suppressing an entire nation. It is, therefore, urgent to embark on a frank dialogue between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party].

[Issued] Free land of Angola, 17 May 1990

[Signed] Brigadier Zacarias Mundombe, military intelligence officer

Madagascar

President Ratsiraka Comments on Coup Attempt

EA1605174290 Antananarivo Domestic Service
in Malagasy 1600 GMT 15 May 90

[Excerpts] Profane acts and acts creating division, resulting in ethnic confrontation in the country—This was what Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka described when he received six European journalists this afternoon at Iavoloha State House.

Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, the president of the Malagasy Democratic Republic, received these journalists this afternoon, and the news conference lasted more than one hour and 30 minutes. The European journalists had the chance to ask questions about international politics, international economy, Malagasy politics, Madagascar's relations with foreign countries, Malagasy politics and socialism, the living conditions of the masses, and also the incident which occurred on 13 May at the Anosy radio building. [passage omitted]

He said that the conversation, which took place in a spirit of complete mutual understanding, was lengthy. Three Malagasy radio-television journalists also attended and were allowed to ask questions—special questions addressed to the head of state—about the incident which occurred at the Anosy radio building, the national radio broadcasting headquarters, on Sunday, 13 May.

The government did not issue a statement after the incident, the Malagasy journalists noted, and asked why the security forces had not fulfilled their duties during the forcible takeover of the radio headquarters on 24 July 1989. Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka replied immediately that such a question surprised him greatly.

[Begin Ratsiraka recording] I am very surprised by a such question. [words indistinct] Radio France International [passage indistinct] did not hear. All of us probably heard the statement read by the information minister, Jean-Claude Rahaga, broadcast by the radio-television. The statement made by Information Minister Jean-Claude Rahaga was a statement which [words indistinct]. [passage indistinct]. So, I think that the government was [words indistinct] is issuing what it believed to be real facts [words indistinct]. So how can you say again that the (?government) kept silent? [passage indistinct] There was a statement made by the prime minister [words indistinct] statement made by the information minister—his duty is to inform [words indistinct] then that you should have is Ratsiraka himself speaking [words indistinct] one-man government.

After that, regarding the second question [passage indistinct] that the security forces this time intervened more firmly, whereas in 1989, they did not, however, react [passage indistinct] I say that acts [words indistinct] as they create what I call ethnic confrontation, which can be sparked off, but is difficult to stop. [passage indistinct]. In July 1989, [words indistinct] came and made a statement, [words indistinct] and ran away. They managed to run away and they were (?arrested) only [passage indistinct]. So how could you have bloodshed? So how could you have confrontations? [passage indistinct] They were armed. They [words indistinct]. And (?I) know that the number of those inside was perhaps superior to those of last year. [passage indistinct]

First, regarding those who [words indistinct] from the southeastern part of the country. Reports on [words indistinct] are not true at all. Second, as I have already said, there was a crowd of perhaps [word indistinct] or 2,000, or 3,000 maximum at Anos [words indistinct]. [words indistinct] when the security forces [words indistinct], they said that [words indistinct] threw stones at the soldiers and one soldier died. Five civilians died. [words indistinct] the order [words indistinct] and there were wounded people. Forty-four people were injured: Three were gendarmes, three soldiers—one of them died, as we know—and three were from the national police. Those wounded were not only [words indistinct] but also among the security forces.

That is why I totally reject any profane act [words indistinct] division and ethnic discrimination in this country [words indistinct] That is what I can say. if you say, why did clashes take place this time [passage indistinct] clashes took place because they were armed and the people who were outside threw stones at the soldiers. [passage indistinct]. Those people did not go away. They threw stones at the soldiers instead. [passage indistinct] So, if you say that the government is keeping silent, I say that the government [words indistinct] as the information minister has already said something aimed at informing all of us about the event. [end recording] That was the explanation given by Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka following the incident which occurred on Sunday, 13 May.

It is worth noting that Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka's entire conversation with the European journalists will be heard on Radio-Madagascar frequency two in its news bulletins, the date of which will be stated later. The reason is that we respect the journalists who asked for a meeting with the Malagasy president, and we are allowed to broadcast the entire conversation on Radio-Madagascar only after they have dispatched the news they have gathered.

Mauritius

* Soldiers Among Indian Technical Team Denied

90AF0082A Port Louis THE SUN in French 11 Apr 90 p 12

[Text] No treaty pertaining to the sending of airborne troops to Mauritius in case of a strike has been signed by Mauritius with any country. That was Sir Anerood's answer to A. Jeewah who had asked about support from foreign armies.

However, the prime minister added that, as head of the government, it was his duty to find means to protect the interests of Mauritian citizens. He has been mandated by the people to assume these responsibilities.

Sir Anerood answered a second question by Jeewah declaring that it was not in the public's interest to release the names and professional qualifications of the foreign soldiers staying in Mauritius due to the recent CEB [Central Electricity Board] strike.

Sir Anerood vouched that there were no Indian soldiers in the team of Indian technicians who were in Mauritius to train Mauritian personnel with regard to supplying electricity. This is pursuant to the prime minister's request and the friendship existing between Mauritius and India.

Furthermore, concerning the foreign military personnel, which was in Mauritius prior to the CEB strike, the prime minister declared that any release of their names and duties was contrary to security. But there are British, French, and Indian advisers whose presence in the country facilitates the training of local policemen.

* Crime Prevention Unit Increases Surveillance

90AF0082B Port Louis THE SUN in French 11 Apr 90 p 1

[Items in quotation marks originally in English]

[Text] One thousand four hundred and twenty-nine cases of all types of thefts have been reported to the police over the last 2 months. No murders were reported for that same period.

But there was a murder in Rose Hill on 1 April. That was Sir Anerood Jugnauth's answer to R. Bhagwan, pertaining to the number of thefts and murders recorded over the last 2 months.

Concerning the measures taken, the prime minister added that there were "preventive patrols," especially at night. In some districts, where the situation is alarming, a larger number of policemen ensure constant surveillance.

In addition, the police "Crime Prevention Unit" informs the public throughout the country about the various forms of thefts and the measures to be taken to fight against crime in general.

*** French Accord for Technical Training Signed**

90AF0097B Port Louis *L'EXPRESS* in French
12 Apr 90 p 5

[Text] An agreement signed with the French Aid and Cooperation Fund (FAC) worth 6.4 million rupees was signed on 11 April by Minister of Foreign Affairs Sir Satcam Boolell and French Ambassador Philippe Coste.

Among other things the 6.4 million rupees will be used for the training of personnel of the Overseas Telecommunications Services (OTS) and of the Mauritius Telecommunications Services (MTS).

In its first, 2-year phase, this training program aims at training 19 engineers, 22 middle managers, 25 technicians (18 to handle switching equipment and 7 to handle transmission equipment), and 9 linemen to install lines.

The overall cost of this training program will be 27.3 million rupees, financed by a loan (provided by France-Telecom, a mixed French state and privately owned company) worth about 15.6 million rupees, provided at the time of the signing of the FAC agreement. The remaining loan of about 5 million rupees will be provided by the French Central Fund for Economic Cooperation [CCCE].

Following the signing of the agreement, Sir Satcam recalled that a training program will be required parallel to the work to be carried out on the modernization of the OTS and the MTS. Along the same lines he added that the new methods of installation and operation, as well as the maintenance of this complex network of telecommunications, will require qualified and efficient personnel to project a better image of the MTS.

Before giving his speech on the training program Ambassador Coste stated that to reach the stage of modern development these days, it is no longer enough simply to provide more effective equipment. Ambassador Coste said that it is necessary to have qualified personnel, capable of ensuring the installation and functioning of this kind of equipment.

The French ambassador commented that 3 weeks ago, at the end of a conference in Geneva of aid donor countries organized by the Mauritian Government, a French cooperation mission made positive proposals for the development of technical training in Mauritius.

As a sign that France was not neglecting its traditional friendship for Mauritius Ambassador Coste recalled that French cooperation, through loans provided by the

CCCE and grants by the FAC, had provided Mauritius 1.3 billion rupees since 1975 for the development of telecommunications.

*** AMB Signs Accord To Import Indian Fruit**

90AF0097C Port Louis *LE MAURICIEN* in French
16 Apr 90 p 5

[Article by Habib Mosaheb]

[Text] The Agricultural Marketing Board (AMB) is considering importing Indian fruit. On 12 April it signed a basic agreement on this matter with two Indian organizations.

These include the Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority (APEDA), which comes under the Indian Ministry of Commerce, and the National Agriculture Federation (NAFED), which comes under the Ministry of Agriculture.

According to our information, the following fruit will no longer be subject to sanitary restrictions imposed by the Ministry of Agriculture: apples, oranges, tangerines, grapes, and mangoes.

The NAFED has agreed to send regularly to the Agricultural Marketing Board samples of these fruits, as well as information concerning prices and other commercial details.

For its part the APEDA has agreed to sponsor jointly with the Agricultural Marketing Board a campaign in Mauritius to promote the consumption of out-of-season mangoes from India.

The APEDA will provide the mangoes, while the Agricultural Marketing Board will be responsible for the sale of this fruit on the local market. This promotional campaign is scheduled to begin in 1990.

The basic agreement signed on 12 April in Port Louis also provides for Indian technical assistance for our production of onions. In effect the Associated Agricultural Development Foundation of India, which has conducted specialized research on the production and storage of onions, will provide assistance to the Mauritian Ministry of Agriculture and to the Agricultural Marketing Board to permit the resumption of local production.

The Indian assistance will also involve training and information visits to India for technicians and growers so that they can familiarize themselves with new growing and storage techniques.

The basic agreement was signed by Pravin Gupta (deputy director of the APEDA), S. C. Singhal (general manager of the NAFED), and Kailash Ramdanee (chairman of the Board of Directors of the Agricultural Marketing Board).

The Indian delegation, which visited Mauritius from 6 to 12 April, had meetings with Sir Ramesh Jeewoolall, deputy minister of agriculture, before holding a working session with AMB officials, including Kailash Ramdanee, chairman of the Board of Directors; Megh Pillay,

acting general manager; and K. B. Daby, acting secretary, in the presence of K. S. Rana, Indian high commissioner to Mauritius, and R. Yat Sin, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture.

* Analysis of 1989 Trade Figures

90AF0097A Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French
12 Apr 90 pp 1, 7

[All quoted items originally in English]

[Text] The Mauritian economy would have needed an extra quarter for exports in 1989 to regain a semblance of equilibrium in the trade balance. At least this is the principal conclusion reached in a review of Mauritian international trade performance during 1989.

During the period from January to December 1989 the trade balance reflected an astronomical deficit of 4.7 billion Mauritian rupees, whereas the deficit for 1988 as a whole was about 3.6 billion rupees.

However, an official analysis of the foreign trade performance recalled that: "The 1988 figure included the purchase of two aircraft amounting to 1.775 billion rupees. Exclusive of the aircraft the deficit works out to around 1.8 billion only." Therefore, if the purchase of two Boeing 767 aircraft by Air Mauritius is excluded, it appears that the trade deficit recorded in 1989 was twice as large as that for 1988.

The official analysis, made public on 13 April, noted that "This considerable deterioration of the balance of visible trade is undoubtedly explained by the unfavorable terms of trade movements experienced in 1989."

Regarding the terms of trade, the official figures bring out a decline of 9 points in 1989, compared to 1988. This decline was caused by the fact that export prices were clearly lower than the prices of imported goods. In 1989 export prices in Mauritius only rose by 11 percent, whereas the price of sugar rose by 13 percent and products from the free trade zone only increased by 10 percent.

On the other hand the price of imported goods went up by 22 percent, with an increase of 24 percent for food products, 35 percent for petroleum products, and 23 percent for cement, whereas raw materials for manufacturing activity in the Free Trade Zone increased by 22 percent.

Regarding the volume of exports in 1989, available official figures make it clear that the volume remained about the same as that recorded in 1988. On the other hand the value of these exports increased by 12 percent to total 15.5 billion rupees, compared to 13.9 billion rupees in 1988.

The first alarming sign regarding the Free Trade Zone was the fact that the volume of exports from this sector did not grow in 1989. We may recall that the rate of growth in this sector over the past 5 years was about 25 percent annually.

The increase of 10 percent in gross receipts from the Free Trade Zone in 1989, which rose from 8.2 billion to 9.1 billion rupees, was finally attributed to the effects of increases in the prices of these products overseas. It was officially explained: "The 10-percent increase, in value terms, of EPZ [Export Production Zone] exports is totally accounted for by the effect of price increase."

The value of imports in 1989 passed the 20-billion rupees level, amounting to 20.2 billion rupees. This total also takes into account the purchase of two ships for 500 million rupees. The volume of imports increased by 5 percent.

The table appearing below provides a view of the development of the import sector for the principal items.

1988-1989 Imports by Principal Sectors

Product Group	CIF Value in Millions of Rupees		
	1988	1989	Increase
Dairy Products	333	473	+ 140
Rice	299	412	+ 113
Wheat (Unmilled)	1	144	+ 113 [As published]
Refined Petroleum Products	866	1,338	+ 472
Cement	172	286	+ 144
Iron and Steel	414	533	+ 119
Road Vehicles	647	808	+ 161
Telecommunications, Sound Recording Apparatus	482	747	+ 265
Ships	214	507	+ 293
Export Production Zone Imports	5,890	7,502	+1,612
EPZ Imports: Machinery	(800)	(950)	(+150)
Other	6,367	7,497	+1,130
Total	15,685*	20,217	+4,532
*Exclusive of Aircraft			

Let us recall that in the Estimate of Supplementary Expenditure (ESE), which will be presented by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, an additional sum of 20 million rupees was spent under the heading of rice and flour subsidies for the 1988/89 fiscal year.

Under the heading of the Free Manufacturing Zone alone the volume of this loophole declined in terms of the volume of total exports. In effect the Free Manufacturing Zone only accounted for 17 percent of total export

volume in 1989, compared to 28 percent in 1988, while the average volume of the past 3 years was 25 percent.

The net contribution of the Free Manufacturing Zone declined by about 32 percent, dropping from 2.3 billion to only 1.5 billion rupees. In 1987 the net contribution was 1.7 billion rupees.

Regarding the import category of the Free Trade Zone, which amounted to about 7.5 billion in 1989, we find that imports of capital goods and of spare parts totaled 950 million rupees, whereas the category of raw materials amounted to 6.5 billion rupees, or 30 percent more than in 1988.

Breakdown of Exports by Destination (FOB in Millions of Rupees)

Country of Destination			1988				1989			
	1988	1989	1st Qr	2nd Qr	3rd Qr	4th Qr	1st Qr	2nd Qr	3rd Qr	4th Qr
1. Preferential Tariff Countries	12,929	14,417	2,881	2,794	3,818	3,437	3,241	3,463	3,830	3,883
a. All EEC Countries	10,622	11,583	2,342	2,319	3,066	2,896	2,714	2,645	3,077	3,147
United Kingdom	4,808	5,384	1,239	780	1,420	1,370	1,359	810	1,510	1,708
France	3,025	2,986	618	905	734	768	700	950	678	
FRG*	1,272	1,391	235	336	386	336	238	334	486	334
b. All Other Preferential Tariff Countries	2,307	2,835	539	475	753	541	527	818	753	737
United States (Preferential Tariff Country)	1,785	2,076	361	398	606	420	435	517	639	509
2. General Tariff Countries	536	632	74	129	185	147	103	134	98	297
Total Exports	13,465	15,049	2,955	2,924	4,003	3,584	3,344	3,597	3,928	4,180

Namibia

Nujoma: State Recognizes 'Traditional' Authorities

MB1705214690 Windhoek Domestic Service
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 17 May 90

[Text] Namibian President Mr. Sam Nujoma says the government recognizes existing traditional structures of authority because they can contribute to peace and stability in the country.

Mr. Nujoma, who is on a three-day visit to the north of the country, said at Ombalantu in Ovambo that all population groups in Namibia should retain and strengthen their different cultures.

He emphasized, however, that any traditional practices which infringe upon individual rights had to be abolished.

Geingob: Opposition Declined To Participate

MB1705214090 Windhoek Domestic Service
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 17 May 90

[Text] Prime Minister Mr. Hage Geingob says the official opposition has turned down an invitation to participate in the government. Therefore, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] will now continue to rule the country according to its views.

Mr. Geingob said this during the debate in Parliament this afternoon on the motion concerning the security situation in the country and the maintenance of law and order. He was reacting to a request by the official opposition that a joint investigation be launched into the security situation. According to Mr. Geingob, the opposition had thrown away its chances to be part of the government. He said the opposition could investigate the issue on their own if they so desired.

Prime Minister Hage Geingob Interviewed

MB1705153890 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English
11 May 90 p 9

[Text] Namibia's first post-independence Prime Minister, Hage Geingob, has come a long way with Namibian politics. Although relatively unknown to some until recently, he has now become a household name throughout the country. At the age of 48, he must rank among the world's youngest leaders. A charming and humorous politician, Prime Minister Geingob first shot into the limelight as one of the earliest UN petitioners before taking up the challenging task of setting up and heading the UN Institute for Namibia in Lusaka. Last year he was appointed by President Nujoma as head of the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] Election Directorate and landed back in Namibia last June to kick off the party's election campaign. This week staff reporter Rajah Munamava spoke to the Prime Minister on a variety of subjects.

Q - Mr. Geingob, why were you appointed Prime Minister and how do you see your role?

A - Well...that was an honour bestowed upon me. I don't know why I was chosen, that you must ask Comrade President and other colleagues. But for me it was a great honour and maybe I could venture to take a guess—I am a member of SWAPO, I grew up in SWAPO, I am a loyal member and I dedicated my whole life to SWAPO, so maybe that's why I was chosen. I was first at the UN as a petitioner, I was the first to set up the Institute for Training which was a challenging job, I was the first to come and direct the election campaign, I was the first to chair the Constituent Assembly. These were difficult tasks so maybe I proved my worth.

Q - Some of your critics have it that you lack the clout to be your own man. In other words, they say you are the President's man. What would you say to that?

A - What's wrong with that? To start with, I don't know who says that and as I say, what's wrong with that? I grew up with the President, I have served him loyally, that is SWAPO of which he is president and all those serving him.

What is wrong with being loyal to your leader? If there is anybody who can say something to the President that is me, nobody else.

Q - It appears there is no clarity on the policy of national reconciliation. Lately the Minister of Information has been quoted as saying the policy is being misinterpreted. How do you see the policy?

A - Firstly, since your newspaper has a very serious problem with reconciliation and sometimes the SWAPO chief right now, reconciliation is not my policy—it is SWAPO's policy. It was during the campaign. Read the SWAPO manifesto. It's SWAPO's policy as espoused by the President and I don't think anything's wrong with it. There is nothing wrong with the concept if it means we have to forget the past, we have had war, we have to start anew.

But if some people, especially the whites, think this policy means the status quo must continue, they are misinterpreting it.

When I came back I addressed a rally at Gobabis where I said reconciliation is not a one-way street. We just cannot have political reconciliation, it must also be at the economic level, it must be at all levels. So if some people want to use it for the maintenance of the status quo, they are misinterpreting it.

The super structures are in the hands of the white people, super services in the hands of the white people. I told Mr. Mudge when he came to see me here that look you have been here. We have about 18 secretaries, all white, all male and they are 90 per cent Afrikaners. For reconciliation's sake, those left out must be brought in. I'm working on that now so if some people think we must

maintain those people, don't touch them, keep the Afrikaners out, then they are misinterpreting the concept.

Q - How do you see the government striking a balance between the need to retain white skills on the one hand, and black aspirations on the other?

A - We just have to strike a balance. We need white skills not only in governmental services; there are private enterprises where their services are needed and which they are controlling. But black aspirations must also be answered. This fragile peace that we are enjoying will go up in flames if we do not address the aspirations of those who have been left out. Independence is supposed to bring something for them, they are the ones who suffered.

You cannot have independence and ignore the needs of those who suffered the most. We have to try now with job creation and those with skills who also have the means financially, we need them for that.

But together in the spirit of national reconciliation we must create jobs in rural areas so that people don't flock to the cities and sit on the streets. The situation is also difficult and people have to be patient too. It's not easy.

So we have to work together, the whites, the blacks and the government so that we can create jobs. If we don't do that, we will be in trouble—all of us.

Skills must be provided too, and we are trying to set up a scheme to employ all former PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] fighters, as well as Koevoets [Police Counterinsurgency Unit] and so on, to set up a training scheme, a development force to give them skills so that they can look for jobs and not depend on hand-outs.

At the same time we are keeping them busy. There will be an allowance and so on. They will be out of the streets as a beginning and then later on we must create opportunities. Companies we are inviting to do business here must create jobs. We cannot redistribute poverty. We first have to create wealth. For that we need money, hence our appeals to foreign investors to come here and do business. We have a donors' conference in June where we are going to invite foreign donors to come and see the country. These are the programmes we have right now. We cannot depend on hand-outs. With a dependency syndrome we cannot do anything, so we must actually work very hard. Nobody must think independence means relaxing. Tanzania said Uhuru na Kazi—independence and hard work—we must instill that motto in our minds. We must also work hard ourselves, the blacks, but we have to involve the white compatriots so that they understand reconciliation, that they are welcome...but also to help address the problems of those who are disadvantaged.

Q - While the government has committed itself to reconciliation, SWAPO, through its chief, appears less enthusiastic about reconciliation. He has been quoted as

saying reconciliation is dead, that enough is enough, etc. Does this represent diverging views between the ruling party and the government?

A - People are forgetting that Sam Nujoma is the president of SWAPO and Sam Nujoma is also the President of the Republic of Namibia, so he is the leader of the party. He has not resigned. But Sam Nujoma is talking about reconciliation. He is saying if you understand this concept to mean the maintenance of the status quo, then none of us agree with it. But let's not confuse matters by trying to create a wedge between the party and the government because it's a SWAPO government and Sam Nujoma is the leader of both.

Q - Not long ago your colleague, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, and others as well were perceived as the radicals, the hardliners in SWAPO. Have you changed?

A - Maybe the reality has changed, not us. You see, when you are outside, you see the situation differently. We were hardliners, we are still hardliners when it comes to the independence of this country. We are hardliners when it comes to caring for our people...we are not going to compromise on that.

But when you are in charge, you look at the methods you will use to achieve your goals. There is a goal you want to reach but how do you do it? Do you reach it by wild statements you made while abroad when you were still not in charge so that what I say now has immediate repercussions? Whereas when I was not in charge what I was saying was theoretical, it was rhetoric. One can be a hardliner by voicing slogans but when you are faced with unemployment, do I become a hardliner and say create jobs, force people—they are not going to do it. So I have to be cool and plan. Now we are dealing with realities, we must provide answers to what we were saying all along, that's the only difference.

Q - Many people are saying that business interests come first to the SWAPO government. If this is so, does it mean the SWAPO socialist programme has finally been abandoned?

A - Well, in our manifesto and economic policy issued about two years ago we kept on saying that we do accept that in a situation like ours where the socio-economic situation is so lopsided, imbalanced, the best system you can have to balance things is socialism. We still believe in that. But things have changed in the world. All the socialist countries that were our role models have changed. They are pragmatic and so on. We are not against business as such, but business that makes only one group rich and others poor we are opposed to. Socialism is opposed to that. Therefore when business people seem to have prominence, it's because they are in charge in this country. When we talk about the bourgeoisie we are talking about those with influence because of their means, their status. So therefore our government at the moment is basically dependent on the business community which is white. That's the reality, as a superstructure. The sub-structures we are trying to set

up, the system we are trying to set up has to deal with these people. You don't frighten them away but we also want to get hold of state powers. We don't have that now to be realistic. People don't analyse it properly. You can't sit in this office and say you have power because you don't. Where does power lie? With the business people, that's reality. Who pays taxes to pay our salaries and all those things, it's the business people. So it's not that they are getting preference. But they are predominant in the society. We can't help that. But we pay attention to our people; Sam Nujoma does, nobody should doubt that. We know their needs, but how do you solve those problems? We don't have the means at the moment. We can't create jobs for them in the SWAPO offices, so we have to talk to business people and say let's change attitudes. Independence brings about a change of attitudes and new relationships between your workers and other countries. Let's start with building a new nation, forget the past when you were oppressing and exploiting others, so we have to talk to these people, they have influence through their means.

Q - Has SWAPO finally put its stamp on government? Do you have a grip on the government machinery?

A - No, we are being judged harshly even by our supporters. I understand the opposition party doing that because they would like to show that the government has failed. If we took government by revolution then you could have said it's in our hands. But once you went through processes, we didn't get two-thirds, hence give and take comes into play. Once you do that, that is reconciliation, enshrined in our constitution. To take over this government, it will take time, let's not fool ourselves. We also don't want to frighten people. We have a legal obligation. A government isn't irresponsible. It has to be responsible and there are legal obligations we have inherited and the constitution is enjoining us to honour those obligations. So there will be a process. Sam Nujoma is the President, a SWAPO government is in charge politically. Slowly we will take over.

Q - What about land redistribution? It was part of the SWAPO election campaign package so how do you see this being carried out and is there a timetable.

A - Well, you have to set up a system of land reform, agrarian development and reform, and in this regard we have asked the Ministry of Lands to prepare as a cabinet paper. We must study the situation first and come up with a policy. And in the interest of reconciliation, we have to reconcile on the question of land too. You can't have 10 farms while Munamava doesn't have a piece of land he can say is his own. That's not reconciliation. We are appealing to our propertied class that reconciliation must be carried through. We are saying that in the spirit of reconciliation, land is what the people went to war for. Many of our counterparts, the white people, are insensitive to the needs of the black people in this country. Hence we are saying we must start to change our attitudes to become sensitive to the emotional feelings of the black people.

Q - Is reconciliation working at this stage?

A - You know it's working. Yes, I can say it's working. You see what I said is that people who have been challenging reconciliation are the products of reconciliation themselves.

Q - Is there a time span for the attainment of some of the socio-economic goals?

A - The armed struggle took 23 years, the struggle itself took generations. We say now that we are embarking on the second phase of the struggle which is more difficult. It's not an easy task. So I can't put a time frame by saying that by this time everyone is going to have that—it's impossible. But what we have to do during the term of this government, five years, is to show an improvement in our people's living standards, especially those who have been left out. Otherwise the trust people have put in us would have been betrayed.

Q - There has been reports lately of lawlessness in the north where it is alleged that former PLAN combatants are roaming around with weapons intimidating people. What do you know about this and does the situation hold a potential danger to the stability of the country?

A - Firstly, let me put it to you that nobody in this government will tolerate lawlessness. Therefore the Ministries of Home Affairs and Defence are looking into these charges. There are also charges that SWAPO

leaders are interfering in administration. Dirk Mudge raised that issue. I told them, look, because of reconciliation we retained secretaries who were in the other administrations and they are in charge. Now people know these people as oppressors, they do not want to go to them. They go to SWAPO leaders. That's not interference. Allegations of lawlessness concerning PLAN fighters may come from the fact that they saw them in uniforms coming in with weapons donated to this government. It's propaganda aimed at instilling fear among the people. You know yourself that there are a lot of arms in this country, AK-47s. We saw that during the war AK-47s were used by South Africans to kill our people. As we were complaining during the campaign, Koevoets also have these weapons, there are arms caches being found. People broke into military depots and stole arms. So please leave PLAN out. There are a lot of unlicensed arms all over; too many. That's why the Home Affairs minister has appealed for the surrender of unlicensed arms. Now why put the blame on PLAN? If there are one to two PLAN fighters with arms, we will tell them to surrender their arms also. We can't allow the unlawful use of arms. Nobody will condone that. But don't put the blame on PLAN. Plan freed this country. Every patriot must say 'Viva PLAN'. They didn't free it alone. You contributed in your way but they played the major part. Now we are trying to treat them like troublemakers while they are heroes.

Burkina Faso

Education Minister Dismisses University Students

AB1705170190 Ouagadougou Domestic Service
in French 1900 GMT 15 May 90

[Summary] The minister of secondary and higher education and scientific research has issued an order dismissing 10 students from the Ouagadougou University for expelling some lecturers from the amphitheatres and lecture halls, for disturbing classes, and for refusing to reply to a query by the university vice chancellor.

Students Hold Demonstration

AB1705172090 Paris AFP in French 1528 GMT
16 May 90

[Text] Ouagadougou, 16 May (AFP)—A student demonstration took place yesterday morning at the University of Ouagadougou following the dismissal on Tuesday [15 May] of 10 students on disciplinary grounds. According to the leadership of the National Association of Burkina Students (ANEB), the demonstrators demand the reinstatement of their colleagues who were demanding the right to organize a general meeting on Tuesday. The authorities, according to the students, refused to release a lecture-room on a working day. The demonstrators also demand the opening of negotiations in a bid to find solutions to problems of the university.

There was no violence and no arrests were made, an official source disclosed. However, an armed squad guarded the confines of the university where classes proceeded normally. The authorities blamed the situation on a "moribund political sect." Observers believe this refers to the Upper Volta Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR), the only political group to have refused to sit on the constitutional committee set up by the Popular Front (the country's supreme ruling body) to prepare a draft constitution which will be put to a referendum.

In February, the PCRV called on teachers and parents to oppose the "devaluation of the teaching profession" and envisage a "mobilization to demand sound education for the children at minimum costs to parents," instead of the "bourgeois school system proposed by the Popular Front."

Cape Verde Islands

Pereira To Meet South Africa's De Klerk 25 May

AB1805095090 Paris AFP in French 1743 GMT
17 May 90

[Text] Praia, 17 May (AFP)—Aristides Pereira, the Cape Verdean head of state, is expected to hold talks with the South African head of state, Mr. Frederik de Klerk, on 25 May at Sal Island (Cape Verde archipelago), a reliable source disclosed today in Praia. The same source further stated that the talks between the two leaders will take

place during a few hours' technical stopover by President de Klerk at Sal on his way back to South Africa after his European tour.

Ivory Coast

President Reportedly Urged French Intervention

AB1705212590 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 17 May 90

[From "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Things are apparently getting back to something approaching normality in the Ivory Coast city of Abidjan after a day of chaos, when young soldiers careened round the street for the second time this week and young Air Force men took control of the international airport. They are now back in their barracks, but at one time, there was tense moments, when a protest over pay and conditions threatened to become an open rebellion. And today's issue of the French newspaper LIBERATION reports that President Houphouet-Boigny actually called on the French, who have a military presence in Ivory Coast, for help. The two countries have a military accord in the case of external aggression against Ivory Coast. On the line Julian Marshall asked Steven Smith of LIBERATION what form President Houphouet-Boigny's appeal for help had taken?

[Begin recording] [Smith] Apparently yesterday, when the soldiers took to the streets, the Ivorian president panicked to some extent and he made a verbal request to the French ambassador in Abidjan, Michel Dupuch, and asked for a military intervention by France. He said not a massive military intervention but he wanted a sign from Paris—troops helping him out of his difficult situation.

[Marshall] So, he wanted the French troops to intervene or to do what exactly?

[Smith] Yes, he wanted them to intervene. It was not clear whether he meant that the battalion stationed very close to the international airport of Abidjan should be... [changes thought] It was put on the alarm, and should leave its camp and intervene especially because the airport was taken over by the rebels or whether he requested a military intervention from Paris, as it was a verbal rather than [word indistinct] request. It that some upheaval in Paris, but it was not very precise.

[Marshall] And how did the French respond exactly?

[Smith] Well, there was no [word indistinct] at the presidency here. The French president was traveling, and they decided that this request, which was not a formal request—but formal requests are not really in the (?tradition) of Franco-African relations. Anyway, they responded by sending down to Ivory Coast today a Lieutenant Colonel, Alain le Caro, who is commander of the special intervention group of the French paramilitary

forces. And he was sent town with a few men as the official statement was worded.

[Marshall] But, it does not sound like a terribly enthusiastic response?

[Smith] Not at all. I think it was one of the signs where people saw that the French African policy that has not changed over the past years, ever since the socialists took over in 1981 has reached now a point where any of those autocrats or even dictators in West and Central Africa, who have defense agreements with Paris, can just call them in even on the grounds of internal upheaval, which is a clause contained in the secret documents signed under De Gaulle, which means that it is more than 30 years ago.

[Marshall] So, you are saying that this rather grudging response by the French is a signal to other African leaders that they are not just going to send their soldiers whenever the African leaders want them to. Is not it?

[Smith] Yes, it is basically that. We had already a precedent three years ago, when the Togolese President Eyadema, because of about 50 soldiers allegedly come in from Ghana had erupted in his capital and there was shooting and looting, and he asked for a military intervention, and his request was followed by the French authorities. But already there was a big discussion about whether this was the convenient way to show France's solidarity for its African partners, and I think now we reached a point where the most fundamental question (?is asked): Whether the defense agreement signed under De Gaulle should still hold?

[Marshall] So, is your reading of the situation that President Houphouet-Boigny has been snubbed by France then or what?

[Smith] I think he has been snubbed by Paris on the political level and the military level, but only as far as his person is concerned. It is definitely not a rebuff to Ivory Coast, but there is no question of military intervention by French troops in Ivory Coast, especially when the background is rather social and there is a crisis at the end of the regime, so there is no question of intervening when it is so evidently an internal problem. [end recording]

Political Bureau Issues Communiqué 17 May

AB1705215190 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1930 GMT 17 May 90

[Communiqué issued by the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally (PDCI-RDA), following its meeting in Abidjan on 17 May 1990]

[Text] Since 30 April 1990, when, at its meeting under the chairmanship of the party chairman, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the PDCI-RDA invited the government to legalize the political parties that wished to apply in conformity with Article 7 of the Constitution, the Ivorian political scene has taken on a new color. Political

parties appeared alongside the PDCI-RDA, and their leaders have held various meetings. Other political parties are being formed, as can be seen from the applications reaching the Ministry of Interior. Multiparty politics is therefore on track in Ivory Coast.

As for the PDCI-RDA, truthful to its principles of action, it is determined to pursue in concord and militant brotherhood its march toward national unity and progress in peace and solidarity. Thus, true to the practice of dialogue, the chairman of the party convened meetings on 30 April with the Political Bureau, on 3 May with the Steering Committee, on 6 May with the secretaries general of the party's sections, and the party leadership has decided, as it has always done on every important event in the nation's life, to undertake information tours of its militants across the whole country.

This is why, at the meeting today, Thursday, 17 May 1990 from 1100 to 1400 at the party headquarters, the members of the PDCI Political Bureau, in an atmosphere of frankness and militant cordiality, made the following decisions:

Twenty-six delegations have been set up to visit the 194 sections of the PDCI-RDA and their committees throughout the national territory beginning Monday, 21 May 1990. Of course, this vast tour is not an election campaign. Its purpose is to have contact with the grassroots militants of the PDCI-RDA, and especially to explain to them the spirit, the meaning, and the practice of multiparty politics. Indeed, the new Ivorian political system demands of militants a perfect knowledge of the rules of multiparty democracy. The PDCI-RDA is determined to undertake and make this new chapter in its history a success.

To bring this political tour to a successful conclusion, the 26 delegations have been assigned the following localities: Abengourou: Agnibilekrou: leader of the delegation, Aka Angui; Aboisso-Adiaké-Ayame-Bassam-Bonoua: leader of the delegation, Matheieu Ekra; Adzope-Anyama: leader of the delegation, Jean-Jacques Bechio; Agboville: leader of the delegation, Kwandi Angba; Alepe-Bingerville: leader of the delegation, Simeon Ake; Bangolo-Guiglo: leader of the delegation, Kei Boguinard; Behoumi-Sakassou: leader of the delegation Amani Goli; Biankouma-Touba: leader of the delegation, Bamaba Vamoussa; Bondoukou-Bouna-Tanda: leader of the delegation, Yaya Ouattara; Bongouanou-Daoukro-Dimbokro: leader of the delegation, Henry Konan Bedie; Bouafle-Sinfra-Zouenoula: leader of the delegation, Laurent Dona-Fologo; Bouake: leader of the delegation, Koffi Gadeau; Boundiali-Tengrela: leader of the delegation, Abdoulaye Kone; Dabakala-Katiola: leader of the delegation, Noel Nemin; Dabou-Jacqueville-Sikensi: leader of the delegation, Philippe Gregoire Yace; Daloa-Vavoua: leader of the delegation, Sery Gnoleba; Danane-Douekoue-Man: leader of the delegation, Gui Dibo; Divo-Lakota: leader of the delegation, Konian Kojo; Gagnoa-Issia-Oume: leader of the delegation, Djedje Madi; Grand Lahou-Tiassale: leader of the delegation,

Usher Assuan; Korhogo-Ferkessedougou: leader of the delegation, Balla Keita; Mankono-Seguela: leader of the delegation, Ange Francois Barry Battesti; Mbayakro: leader of the delegation, Moise Koumoue; Odiene: leader of the delegation, Lamine Diabate; San Pedro-Sassandra-Soubre-Tabou: leader of the delegation, Charles Donwahi; Toumodi-Yamoussoukro: leader of the delegation, Jean Konan Banny.

The Political Bureau requests that individuals in the regions visited—members of the Political Bureau, members of the Steering Committee, secretaries general of PDCI sections, members of the Economic and social Council, legislators, mayors, militant cadres—take part in the working sessions which will be organized during these tours by leaders of the delegations.

As for the sections of the city of Abidjan, the decision was made to visit them after the tours to the interior of the country. Furthermore, the party will organize in the Ivorian economic capital conferences and public meetings to enable the holding of political debates which are necessary for the exercise of multiparty democracy. During these tours by the party, the public is informed that Messrs. Camille Alliali, Lanzeni Coulibaly, Jules Laubouet, all members of the Political Bureau, will be on duty at the party headquarters in Plateau.

Further Reportage on Demonstrations in Abidjan

Authorities Begin Talks With Recruits

AB1705222090 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 17 May 90

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] The authorities in Ivory Coast have begun talks with the young military recruits who demonstrated in the center of Abidjan and occupied the city's airport yesterday in protest of their pay and conditions. The defense minister, Mr. Jean Konan Banny, described the soldiers' behavior as intolerable but conceded that they might have been some foundations for their grievances. He said there had been no casualties during yesterday's disturbances, when the soldiers commandeered vehicles in the center of the capital and briefly occupied the television station. The situation is now returning to normal in Abidjan and the airport is back in operation.

Army To Reenlist Conscripts

AB1805134990 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1245 GMT 18 May 90

[Text] We begin this newcast with a communique from the government. Following the government's call on 16 May, the young soldiers of the various contingents have returned to their barracks and laid down their arms. Consequently, the president of the Republic has decided the recruits of Class 87/1A, who were to be demobilized in June, will all be reenlisted. This applies to the conscripts of the four army corps. This measure also applies to Classes 87/2A, 88/1A, and 88/2A. Soldiers who do not

want to be reenlisted should inform the military authorities at the appropriate time.

The monthly allowance of conscripts will be increased by 30 June 1990. The minister of defense and the chief of staff of the National Armed Forces of Ivory Coast have been instructed to make sure that living conditions in the barracks are improved, particularly clothing and dormitories. Because of the impact of these measures on the size of the Army, future conscription is suspended until further notice. The president of the Republic, the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, has made it known that he will personally monitor the implementation of these instructions.

In addition, as he has always done and will continue to do with all groups, the president of the Republic will meet with a delegation of noncommissioned and commissioned officers on 19 May to discuss specific issues.

Troop Movements Reported

AB1805120490 Paris AFP in French 1053 GMT
18 May 90

[Excerpts] Abidjan, 18 May (AFP)—Troop movements were reported in three Ivorian towns this morning by witnesses. The towns are Yamoussoukro, the political capital and birthplace of Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Bouake, the country's second city, and Daloa, (in the northwest).

An AFP reporter, who went to Yamoussoukro this morning, saw seven military trucks transporting elements of the presidential guard. The vehicles crossed the capital at top speed, he observed. The purpose of their mission was not known.

Some inhabitants of Yamoussoukro, who were contacted by AFP at 1000 GMT this morning, stated however, that the situation was calm.

Initial information received from Bouake noted the presence of several soldiers at the town entrance and the evacuation of the central market. There was no specific information on the situation in Daloa, by the late morning.

No official explanation concerning these movements could be obtained by 1030 GMT, but it was asserted that no military exercise or maneuver had been scheduled by the Ivorian Army Staff Headquarters.

According to some people, these troop movements might be in connection with the demands made Monday, 13 May and Wednesday, 15 May by young recruits in Abidjan. The movement, reportedly, spread to the garrisons of the interior. [passage omitted]

Bouake and Daloa are two important garrison towns. Bouake, which is situated 150 km north of Yamoussoukro, has an air base, the cantonments of the 3d Infantry Battalion, the 1st Battalion Garrison Engineers, a

squadron of commando-paratroopers, and the 4th Gendarmerie Legion. Daloa, which is 150 km west of the capital, has the 2d Infantry Battalion and a Gendarmerie Squadron.

'Official Sources' Cited

*AB1805131690 Paris AFP in English 1309 GMT
18 May 90*

[Text] Abidjan, May 18 (AFP)—Soldiers from the garrison at Bouake some 400 kilometers (250 miles) north of here started to demonstrate overnight Thursday for better living conditions, official sources said.

They said the soldiers of Bouake's Third Infantry Battalion left their barracks without arms and took to the streets complaining that the government's promises to them "were not explicit enough."

The sources said the political capital, Yamoussoukro, and Daloa, some 400 kilometers (250 miles) north-west of here returned to calm Friday after incidents involving soldiers there earlier this week.

Earlier Friday an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE reporter saw seven military trucks carrying members of the elite presidential guard race through Yamoussoukro, the birthplace of President Houphouet-Boigny some 250 kilometers (155 miles) north of here.

Residents contacted by telephone said the town was calm early Friday.

Demobilized Soldiers Arrested

*AB1705220090 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1930 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] Forty-eight former soldiers of the Ivorian Army have been detained since this morning at the Central Police Station in Abidjan. They were arrested for disturbing public order in the streets of Adjame [a ward of Abidjan] and in the vicinity of the administrative ward. The incident happened late this morning.

The demobilized soldiers were demonstrating their support for President Houphouet-Boigny and the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA]. They also demanded their admission, without having to take any exams, into paramilitary formations of the civil service.

48 Demobilized Soldiers Released

*AB1805094690 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
0700 GMT 18 May 90*

[Text] Earlier, we said that 48 demobilized soldiers of the Ivorian Army had been arrested and were being detained at the Abidjan Central Police Station. We have just learned that they have just been freed and allowed to return home.

6 Gendarmes Said Shot, Injured 16 May

*AB1805062890 Paris AFP in English 0247 GMT
18 May 90*

[Excerpt] Abidjan, May 18 (AFP)—Six Ivory Coast gendarmes were shot and injured when a soldiers' protest here went awry on Wednesday, as conscripts took temporary control over the airport and the state television building, official sources said Thursday.

Earlier reports had said nobody was hurt in the incident. Official sources denied rumours that a policeman and a passer-by had been killed, and said the six injured gendarmes were the only casualties.

However there was no word on where or how the men were injured, and Thursday afternoon's local government-owned press did not mention the casualties. [passage omitted]

Abidjan Dock Workers Begin Strike for More Pay

*AB1705200390 Paris AFP in French 1840 GMT
17 May 90*

[Text] Abidjan, 17 May (AFP)—According to reports available at 1700 local time (1700 GMT), calm returned to Abidjan today after demonstrations by recruits who, on 14 May and yesterday demanded that they be maintained in the Army and that their living conditions be improved.

Some isolated groups of soldiers this morning went around the city, but none was seen in the afternoon. The government yesterday called on them to lay down their arms and return to their barracks.

Markets opened normally to business, after replacing the stocks that were looted yesterday by the soldiers who were joined by civilians. Work resumed normally in the ministries and at the airport, as well as in most private enterprises.

However, some strikes have been reported, in particular at the Carina shipyard, where 400 workers occupied the premises. The striking workers were not able to appoint delegates to discuss their unclear demands for pay raises, as some of them claimed.

No information has been given about this morning's meeting of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI, in power since independence). It is believed that the meeting centered on the situation generated by the action of some soldiers since the beginning of the week.

Finally, observers have noted the silence of the opposition parties, which have just been created and none of which has commented on the political-military situation. However, the law bans the new parties from "any activity" during the two months that follow their filing of their registration papers, and all of them are affected by this ban.

*** Devaluation, Solution to Debt Crisis Discussed**

34000643 London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English
13 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] Abidjan. President Houphouet-Boigny's formal, and long-delayed, endorsement of national assembly speaker, Henri Konan Bedie, to succeed him as Cote d'Ivoire's [Ivory Coast] head of state may take some of the heat out of the current political unrest. Konan Bedie has now been endorsed by the Ivorian political elite, ruling party barons and traditional chiefs, and may assume power by the end of this year if 'Le Sage' decides to retire when his current term of office expires in October.

But if so, he will inherit a country in fundamental crisis, with little indication of any imminent improvement in the state of the economy. Even more dangerous for the future stability of the 'jewel' among France's former colonies is the increasing disaffection with the one-party political system; many now openly say this has enabled senior members of the ruling elite to amass personal fortunes in foreign bank accounts.

The increasing intractability of Cote d'Ivoire's external debt situation is the most serious problem and a consensus is growing among foreign creditors, especially non-French commercial banks, and the multilateral agencies, that a devaluation may in the end be the only way out. Because of the fixed parity link between the CFA [African Financial Community] franc and the French franc, the devaluation instrument, which would have been used long ago in many other countries, has been off the agenda.

France is estimated to have paid out FF20bn (\$3.5bn) in 1988 and an even greater amount last year, and because of its convertibility, the CFA franc encourages capital flight. This is thought to be running at \$1bn annually, and exporting the CFA franc, often through Nigerian traders, is a widely prevalent practice throughout the region.

Cote d'Ivoire's total debt is now around \$13bn, or some \$1200 per person, the highest level in Africa, and while it has secured relief on its official debt obligations, the commercial debts have been unserviced for almost two years.

Last December, the Paris Club of official creditors agreed to a 14-year rescheduling, including eight years' grace, of outstanding arrears together with some \$750m in principal and interest due up to the end of this year.

Commercial banks, who are owed over \$4bn, had been hoping to follow this up with their own rescheduling deal, following a first constructive meeting between the London Club steering committee and economy minister Moise Koumoue Koffi at the end of last year. But progress has been delayed by the very different perceptions of the position by the French banks and other European and US banks. The latter group would like to offload their debt and end their exposure altogether,

while the French banks want to protect their continued role in the country's economy. The steering committee, chaired by France's Banque Nationale de Paris (BNP), has so far been unable to reach agreement on a rescheduling package to present both to the Ivorian government and the 300 or so participating banks.

Efforts are now being made to widen the options to make the overall package more attractive to the French banks. Some US banks, in particular, favor a debt buy-back scheme, which would have to get funding from the multilateral agencies. But the necessary funds could not be made available this year, which leaves the French treasury as the obvious candidate to provide topping-up funds. But this would be unlikely if the package was geared mainly to the buy-back option.

There is also a feeling that the IMF and World Bank are playing tough in order to advance their preferred option of a CFA franc devaluation. Some officials frankly admit that in the present political climate they may have been asking the government to impose excessively drastic measures.

A devaluation would, in the view of several banks with sizeable exposure in the country, enable the government to get rapidly on top of its financial problems.

Adding a nought to the current exchange rate of 50 CFA francs to the French franc would be the ideal solution, they argue, as a 90 percent devaluation would administer the same tonic as the successive large devaluations of the cedi in Ghana during the early 1980s. It could even put the budget back into surplus for the first time since 1987.

There are signs that despite the political sensitivity of a devaluation, both the French government and CFA zone countries may now be more willing to examine the pros and cons. The issue will be on the agenda of the next twice-yearly meeting of CFA zone finance ministers in Libreville this month.

If the principle of convertibility is to be maintained, having a floating rate would not be feasible, despite the fact that countries such as Burkina Faso and Mali, with limited export earnings, would lose out in a large devaluation, while Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Cameroon and Congo would greatly benefit.

Given the cost to France of maintaining the present exchange rate, which has remained unaltered since 1948, some analysts argue that it would be better for the French government to increase budget subsidies and other financial assistance to those states losing out under a devaluation exercise. An IMF/World Bank joint mission which has just arrived in Abidjan to take a renewed look at the economic situation says that things are 'looking grim'. Revenue is not expected to reach the levels forecast in this year's budget, mainly due to a further slide in the cocoa price, which will mean an even greater overall financing gap in 1990.

Paris. Further confirmation that international banks are turning their backs on Africa is provided by reports that BNP, France's biggest bank, has offered its Nigerian debt for sale at a heavy discount. BNP has been willing to offload all its \$55m exposure at 27 percent of face value.

Liberia

President Doe To Meet With County Leaders 18 May

AB1605161490 Paris AFP in English 1604 GMT
17 May 90

[Text] Monrovia, May 17 (AFP)—Liberian President Samuel Doe, facing a serious rebel challenge to his rule, is expected Friday to meet superintendents, tribal chiefs and elders of the country's 13 counties, an official statement said.

The statement issued Thursday did not say what would be discussed at the "very important" meeting with Cabinet members and legislators at the executive mansion.

National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) rebels led by fugitive former civil servant Charles Taylor launched attacks Tuesday on government positions near Gbarnga, some 120 kilometers (75 miles) north of here.

Mr. Taylor told reporters this week in Nimba County where the fighting erupted last December that he was waiting for enough people to leave the capital before attacking to prevent a "bloodbath."

Meanwhile, a NPFL spokesman in Washington rejected U.S.-proposed talks with the Monrovia Government Wednesday, adding that the rebels will press on with their military drive to topple Mr. Doe.

On Thursday, the 2,000 members of Mr. Doe's ruling National Democratic Party of Liberia special task force, a kind of unofficial militia, said they were ready to join army troops fighting rebel forces.

BBC Reports on Fighting in Gbarnga

AB1705185090 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 17 May 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There are reports of a new flare up in fighting in the civil war in Liberia between government forces and Charles Taylor's rebels. There has been a lull, and President Doe's government has claimed that the rebel advances out of Nimba County have been checked and even turned back. But now it seems the rebels are launching a new offensive towards the town of Gbarnga, a key center on the main road, 125 miles north of the capital Monrovia. Our correspondent Catherine Bonds has just been up to the area. On the line, Robin White asked her what was going on:

[Begin recording] [Bonds] The situation yesterday was so tense, (?hundreds) of people leaving out of the town. People were waiting alongside the roads [words indistinct] to get taxis down to Monrovia. There were also taxis moving in the other direction [words indistinct] was the best and safest way to go. We got as far as the police check point to stop and find out. We were with them [words indistinct] so we stopped by one soldier. He was running back. He was very distressed and he turned us round at gun point until we passed the check point.

[White] So you never got into Gbarnga at all?

[Bonds] Just on the edge of it, that is as far as we got. Also [words indistinct] in Gbarnga and the situation there this morning was said to be quiet.

[White] Have the rebels actually taken any more towns?

[Bonds] They may have taken (Palala) which is about eight miles [words indistinct]. There does seem to be number of rebel ambushes going on around there. For instance [words indistinct] on Tuesday when some of them were injured and and killed. Yesterday [passage indistinct] we ourselves could not hear any fighting from the south of Gbarnga yesterday.

[White] How are the government soldiers behaving?

[Bonds] The government soldiers are extremely nervous. They are falling back and drive to about (Palala) which is 20 miles south of Gbarnga. The garrison at Gbarnga is still very (? fortified). We did not see any mass evacuation of troops. We just saw some going down in two's, maybe two's and three's. For instance, we met three of them on the road. They were chewing mangoes and [words indistinct] with their M-16's. So, they are very very nervous [words indistinct]. They are taking all the monies of people traveling through the check point.

[White] Did they take any money?

[Bonds] No, they did not take any money off us.

[White] How many people have actually left Gbarnga?

[Bonds] The town used to [words indistinct] as many as 50,000 inhabitants. But most of them have left by now. But they have left over a period of about three weeks. [passage indistinct] Some of them have gone northwest, into Lofa County. Others are coming down to Monrovia.

[Bonds] What happens to them when they get to Monrovia? Does anybody look after them or they just stay with relatives?

[White] Well, the United Nations and Medecins Sans Frontieres [words indistinct] both pulled out of Gbarnga yesterday. They packed up their houses and came down here in a convoy. They are going to look into the question of urban relief. They said it is very very difficult, but it seems to be one of their only options now. They cannot travel very far. So, it looks as the United Nations is going to plan an urban relief distribution

within Monrovia itself for displaced people coming in from more affected areas. [end recording]

Doe Calls 'Important' Meeting

*AB1705181090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1710 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] President Samuel Kanyon Doe will tomorrow, Friday, meet with county superintendents, chiefs, and elders from the various counties for what an Executive Mansion release says is an important meeting.

According to the release, the meeting will begin at 11 o'clock in the morning in the parlors of the Executive Mansion. Members of the Legislature, the Judiciary, the Cabinet, and officials of government are invited. Those attending the meeting are requested to be seated by 1015 in the morning.

Urges People To 'Take up Arms'

*AB1805140890 Paris AFP in English 1401 GMT
18 May 90*

[Text] Monrovia, May 18 (AFP)—President Samuel Doe called on all Liberians on Friday to take up arms against rebels fighting government forces in the West African country since December 24.

Mr. Doe told county superintendents, chiefs and elders at a meeting Friday to "go and tell your people to take cutlasses, shotguns and bow and arrows and go into the bush to fight the rebels."

Dressed in his five-star commander-in-chief uniform, Mr. Doe reinstated all retired and reserve military personnel into active service, and ordered the Defense Ministry to intensify attacks against rebel positions.

He said the rebels, who are being led by fugitive former top civil servant Charles Taylor, have rejected his repeated appeals to lay down their arms.

"If the rebels cannot surrender, I will make them surrender," Mr Doe said.

He urged citizens of all ages to take up arms and defeat the rebels "without compromise," adding that as commander-in-chief and president he was obligated to see that "peace was restored at all cost."

Mr. Doe repeated accusations that the Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Libya were directly involved in the rebel insurgency. He charged that recruits from these countries were fighting alongside the rebels, and said five Libyan soldiers were killed by government forces.

Mr Doe then appealed to citizens of Bong and Grand Bassa Counties where rebels have extended their activities to cooperate with the Liberian Army in rooting out the pockets of rebels in these areas.

The capital Monrovia was calm Friday with business as usual.

Roberts International Airport, 55 kilometers (35 miles) from here, was said to be functioning normally.

Consumers, however, have had to pay double the price of some basic commodities and residents, fearing a rebel attack on the capital, have bought up stocks of canned fish, beef and beans.

Some consumers have accused businessmen of hoarding supplies and profiteering. Businessmen denied the charges, arguing that the shortage was due to a lack of foreign exchange.

Ghana To Close Down Embassy Near Monrovia

*AB1705185690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1710 GMT 17 May 90*

[Text] It has been reported in Monrovia that the Government of Ghana has announced its decision to close down its embassy near Monrovia. The announcement was reportedly made in Accra, Ghana, recently. According to the announcement, the embassy is being closed for economic reasons.

It is also said that the Ghana has notified the Governments of Sierra Leone, Benin and Guinea that it is doing likewise for the same reasons. Meanwhile, the Government of Liberia has confirmed Ghana's decision to close down its embassy near Monrovia.

Nigeria

*** Waste, Mismanagement, Abandoned Projects Exposed**

*34000630B Lagos THE GUARDIAN in English
15 Apr 90 pp 1, 2*

[Text] Scores of equipment imported by Federal agencies to boost their services now lie scattered and abandoned on various sites.

Most of the, conservatively estimated at N300 million, are now left at the mercy of the elements.

Meanwhile, the parastatals denied of their uses have remained inefficient although they have continued to raise their charges to the public.

The equipment range from electric transformers, radars, and scanning computers. They have been left to rot away, because of lack of funds, sheer negligence of the relevant authorities, or sometimes both.

And the discovery is only a tip of the iceberg, as similar cases have been reported in different parts of the country.

At the University College Hospital (UCH) Ibadan for instance, a N10 million worth of Computerised Axial Tomography (CAT) scanner used for examining the human anatomy was abandoned after it was damaged by power fluctuations.

Similarly, the Lagos University Teaching Hospital (LUTH), is in search of funds to reactivate its radiation machine used for cancer treatment. The equipment broke down last year and attempts to obtain international assistance to repair it have so far failed.

At the Federal Ministry of Information, equipment worth \$4 million (N32 million) acquired on behalf of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments has been abandoned by an American company which is asking for an additional \$2.4 million for its installation.

At the Meteorological department of the Aviation Ministry, senior officials said two radars have been abandoned since 1985. The radars to be installed at Port Harcourt, Oshodi and Lagos would have improved the information gathering skills of the ailing department.

Although the cost of the radars have not been ascertained, THE GUARDIAN gathered that it is considerable, including the cost of installation. The officials said the radars will go bad if they are not installed soon.

At the Nigerian Machine Tools Industry, (NMI) Oshogbo, a giant six-powergenerating set worth N8 million has been out of use for the past five years. Although the company's management said it was making efforts to reactivate the generator, one source said the cost of repairs may exceed the initial cost of the equipment.

Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL), the nation's telecommunications link to the outside world is yet to install two equipment worth N138 million.

The first is the aerostat balloon bought for N130 million in 1981. When the project was abandoned halfway, a good number of its parts got missing.

But last year talks began between officials of the organisation and those of General Electric Company (GEC) of London to reassemble the components to boost television transmission.

There is a snag, however, because the project will still need additional 2£ million (about N26 million) contract fees and the cost of the missing accessories. Besides, NITEL has been asked to pay the N6.7 million outstanding on the original project.

There is also an abandoned computerised supervisory equipment at the company. Bought in 1986 at about N6 million the equipment is meant to help clear telephone lines of statics and fault.

If installed, it sends signals to the operator on faults. It will also interpret signals through its processor.

With the equipment in place NITEL's operation would easily meet international standards.

Elsewhere, thousands of crates of power handling equipment such as transformers, circuit breakers, isolators and relays—all NEPA [National Electric Power Authority] property—have been dumped in various locations in

Lagos metropolis and its environs such as Egbin, Akangba Transmission Centre, Central Stores, Oshodi, Ikeja West Transmission centres, Ijora and Wharf.

According to sources, these equipment some of which were acquired with loans from the World Bank and other multilateral agencies, were scheduled to have been installed in the last decade.

At the 300/132 KVA station, Akangba, in Suruletere, THE GUARDIAN counted sixty crates dumped haphazardly at different locations on the premises along with dozens of unserviceable vehicles.

When THE GUARDIAN sought his comments NEPA spokesman for Lagos South directorate, Mr Muiyiwa Olunlonwo said he needed time to investigate the situation.

Some of the equipment, according to sources, were imported for project executed in 1979, while the accessories were to be used for maintenance. "Those heaped at Apapa Wharf," said one source, "have been there for a pretty long time too, because clearing agents were not eager to handle equipment owned by the government."

A German engineer on contract with Brown Boveri Nigeria Limited, one of the NEPA's contracting firms, was so shocked by the wastage and callousness exhibited in handling of equipment by NEPA authorities that he concluded that Nigeria was not serious with the often-mouthed refrain to catch up with the rest of the world.

The situation is similar at Oshodi central stores. When THE GUARDIAN sought to talk to the director of store, Mr L. A. B. Adigun, he declined comments claiming he was a civil servant.

THE GUARDIAN, however, spoke to a NEPA engineer who sought anonymity, on the performance of these equipment, particularly the relays exposed to the elements for a long time.

According to him, "equipment exposed for so long to harsh weather would sooner or later turn into scraps."

He said that when they are eventually used, the manufacturers mostly Asea Brown Boveri Company Limited might not guarantee optimum performance due to corrosion and other effects. He said the relays were the most fragile even when they are stored in crates, adding such incidents had robbed NEPA of scores of equipment.

Said he: "The old relays imported by NEPA and heaped all over the place have been surpassed by new ones being used now known as Static relay."

THE GUARDIAN also spoke to two engineers at Asea Brown Boeri Company, Ilupeju, Lagos. Mr Obiche, an ex-NEPA staff and engineer with the company and his colleagues who pleaded anonymity. According to Obiche, exposure of indoor transformers to harsh

weather could lead to dehydration. The oil has to be changed or flushed while isolators tend to lose their insulation level.

Commenting on relays, Obiche explained that some of them are solid state equipment and therefore subjected to certain temperature range and if exposed for too long to harsh weather could get spoilt.

In the President Ibrahim Babangida's 1986 budget speech, he promised NEPA "a provision for the procurement of critical spare parts and equipment for electricity generation and distribution."

One serious problem affecting NEPA is the time lag between orders for fresh equipment, delivery and installation.

Officials of affected agencies were predictably unwilling to comment openly on the issue abandoned equipment, which one of them described as too hot for him to handle.

Last week, Chief of General Staff, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, worried by the spectre of abandoned projects in the country, directed state governors, not to commence new projects but instead to complete the so-called abandoned projects already—embarked upon by their predecessors.

An official source blamed the advent of abandoned expensive equipment on either negligence and corrupt attitude of officials who did not seem to be bothered that the equipment would make a lot of difference to their present deplorable service to the nation.

Some of them also colluded with foreign merchants to import, at very high cost, equipment that would not work in the country. He said these set of officials also disregarded the advice of experts on the need to ensure that the equipment were not supplied alone but with necessary implements, to prolong their life-span.

But while equipment meant to improve the efficiency of the government departments are left to rot away, some of them like NEPA and NITEL, have recently increased the cost of their services. Consumers are therefore made to pay through their nose for deteriorating services.

An engineer with one of the government agencies, said the absence of any deliberate policy on the part of government to put to use all the equipment imported into the country is also responsible for the wasting away of the multi-million naira equipment.

*** Passport Controls Urged for Drug Peddlers**

34000629A Lagos THE GUARDIAN in English
16 Apr 90 p 8

[Text] All over the world, Nigerians are making a disgraceful spectacle of themselves and rubbing the country's image in the mud. The most recent instance comes from far away Thailand where as many as 57 Nigerians

have been arraigned for alleged attempt to smuggle heroin. Two others were also made to undergo the humiliation of a press photo session alongside their material evidence. Another died when a heroin-filled condom he had ingested got burst.

Such unpleasant stories are becoming all too frequent. Whether it is in Britain, the U. S., India or Zimbabwe, the behaviour of Nigerians is casting a dark image on the country. It is only cold comfort to say that the number with criminal propensities are few and that the overwhelming majority of Nigerians are honest, hard-working intelligent folk.

The fact is that the predilections of the few criminally-disposed get-rich-quick elements tend to frame the perception foreigners have of the country. Consequently, many an innocent Nigerian abroad is given an unduly hard time, made to face the full rigours of customs and immigration formalities, sometimes to an unbecoming degree. The discomfiture of the authorities with the ugly perception and treatment of Nigerians abroad was well expressed last week by the chairman of the Nigerian Drug Enforcement Agency, Mr Fidellis Oyakhilome at a conference in London.

But the criminally-disposed evidently remain unimpressed by the stiff penalties that await transgressors of the laws of other lands especially those relating to drug smuggling.

Those currently in arraignment in Thailand stand in the shadows of the death penalty. The odium drawn by the behaviour of those Nigerians is worsened by the fact that we have no diplomatic representation in Thailand and our affairs are being looked after by the British. Unless a stop is put to Nigerians' involvement in the pernicious traffic in the Golden Triangle, our image will continue to take a beating and the British may rue the day when they accepted to take on our consular responsibilities.

While the government cannot be expected to guarantee the behaviour of Nigerians abroad, it can ensure that its agencies charged with the enforcement of statutory regulations do their work properly. For instance, it ought to be impossible for people to acquire more than one passport thus making it possible to monitor their movements and activities. But this does not mean increasing the bureaucratic maze people have to wade through to get a passport. It means putting a stop to the corruption in the bureaucracy which facilitates the activities of crooks and drug peddlars.

*** NNPC, Gulf Discuss \$500 Million Gas Project**

34000629B Lagos THE GUARDIAN in English
18 Apr 90 p 24

[Article by Akinyemi Taiwo: "Gulf Oil, NNPC Begin Talks on N46b Gas Gathering"]

[Text] The Gulf Oil Company (Nigeria) Limited (GOCON) and its joint venture partners, Nigerian

National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) are now meeting on a N46 billion (\$500 million) gas gathering and distribution project for nation.

Already, studies have been concluded on the project, which is designed to make gas more available to end users, especially the Egbin Terminal Station in Ikorodu area of Lagos State.

GOCON's managing director, Mr Donald M. Mahura, who dropped the hint yesterday when he visited Lagos State Governor, Colonel Raji Rasaki, at Alausa, said when completed, the project would tied to the existing Escarvos-Lagos pipeline.

Besides, the company plans to spend about N16 billion in the next five years on oil exploration and production activities.

This will significantly boost not only the company's but also the nation's proven reserves. It will also increase Nigeria's revenue base from the oil sector that accounts for about 80 percent of our foreign exchange earnings.

Mahura, leading a seven-man delegation, told the governor that GOCON remains the nation's largest offshore producer and second largest oil company in Nigeria, producing 18 percent of our total daily output.

According to him, the company has since its inception 29 years ago, created and maintained a mutually beneficial relationship with its various host communities.

He explained that the company strived to maintain a sensitive approach to the needs of the people in its area of operations with a view to raising their living standard.

Announcing a N50,000 donation on behalf of NNPC/GOCON joint venture towards the building of classroom blocks for schools in Lekki area, Mahura said the company believed that indigenes of oil producing areas ought to derive greater benefits from the company than others.

With the donation, the state's rural development directorate seemed to have a first taste of success in its efforts to involve the private sector in the rural development activities.

Mahura noted that it was the philosophy of the company to embark on long-lasting projects that informed its investment in the areas of health, education and lately agriculture.

Besides, the company awards scholarships to 63 Nigerian students in tertiary institutions each year on the basis of three awards to each state.

Strictly on merit, he said the scholarships were awarded for professional courses such as geology.

* Gas Scheme Scrapped on World Bank's Advice

34000630A Lagos THE GUARDIAN in English
14 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Emeka Ogbeide: "Government Halts N1.4 Billion Cooking Gas Scheme"]

[Text] The N1.4 billion butanisation project planned to make liquified petroleum gas (LPG) otherwise called cooking gas more readily available in Nigeria has been halted by the government.

It was in response to a World Bank survey which spotlighted some problems questioning the viability of the project.

Consulted to fund part of the project, handled by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the World Bank indicated that the money would be difficult to raise.

Inadequate infrastructure, high cost of required appliances and ability to sustain the project were some of the other defects highlighted in the World Bank's report.

As part of the grand plan under the butanisation programme, a N140 million Merox LPG plant was completed last year at the Kaduna Refining and Petrochemical Company by Japanese Chiyoda Engineering Company. It was in the scheme's phase one calculated to cost N520 million. The plant started operation in January this year.

The scheme, initiated in 1979, was to be executed in three phases between 1990 and 1992, according to the feasibility studies presented to the government in 1988.

The LPG's depots to be constructed in Lagos, Lokoja, Kano and Maiduguri/Gombe under phase one were to be completed in January, 1990. But it was only the plant in Kaduna that was completed among the items in phase one.

Under phase two with 1992 as completion date, depots were to be built in Ilorin, Enugu and Calabar.

The third phase, extended under a new plan to 1994, was to deliver depots at Makurdi, Ibadan and Sokoto/Gusau.

the LPG project has not attracted the target financiers abroad, who would rather prefer the Liquified Natural Gas (LNG) for which there is scramble.

The World Bank advised that the butanisation project should be suspended until such a time when funds can be sourced to meet the cost of foreign inputs.

The project was also intended to increase the number of cylinders from the present range of between 700,000 and 1.3 million to about five million. About 28 per cent of the available number has either been withdrawn from circulation for repair or remains in circulation when overdue for re-test. Very few plants are known to have cylinder repair and servicing facilities.

With the suspension of the project, the prime of the 12.5 kilogramme cylinder has risen from N120 to N390. Projected production levels for LPG from Warri, Port Harcourt and Kaduna at the project's completion date in 1994 is 266,000 metric tonnes yearly compared with the 192,000 metric tonnes estimated as the aggregate demand by that year. The level of demand is expected to reach about 400,000 tonnes by the year 2000 as soon as a reliable supply is established, including a depot network.

At full blast of the LPG project, surplus gas is expected to be available for export until 1995 after which new sources of supply will be needed.

With the Merox Plant in Kaduna, it is expected that there will be surplus LPG after meeting the total demand in the north until 1996 which can be transported southwards, releasing LPG for export from the coastal refineries.

Due to the relatively small volumes of LPG to be moved within the country, the government was advised to erase from the project a "dedicated pipeline system." Preference was made for the establishment of a network of primary distribution depots, which would cost N400 million using road transportation compared with more than N600 million for a similar network using rail transportation.

Filled empty cylinders are transported at present on general purpose trucks; one ship of approximately 500 tonnes capacity is used regularly to supply Lagos.

Its utilisation is hampered by problems of reliability and extended discharge times.

Senegal

President Diouf Meets Bush in Washington 14 May

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[Summary From Poor Reception] "President Abdou Diouf continues his working visit to the United States. This afternoon, he met with his American counterpart, George Bush, and later attended a dinner hosted in his honor by American Vice President Dan Quayle. Here is a report from our correspondent, Yaya Sidibe":

[Begin recording] [Sidibe] "The head of state arrived at the White House at 1100 exactly, Washington time, and 1500, Dakar time. He was accompanied by the minister of economy and finance, delegates to planning and political economy, the Senegalese ambassador to Washington, and other Senegalese technical advisers."

Then Abdou Diouf and George Bush held discussions behind closed doors for about 58 minutes. After the discussions, the Senegalese president answered questions put to him by members of the international press. Let us listen to him:

[Diouf] "First of all, we reviewed issues on bilateral cooperation. As you know, relations between the United States and Senegal are very good." We touched on all aspects of cooperation between the two countries. We also discussed international issues, and especially African issues. "I am very happy about the democratic change in the world." [end recording]

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